LETTERS OF IQBAL

B. A. DAR

IQBAL ACADEMY PAKISTAN
LAHORE



ALLAMA MUHAMMAD IQBAL
(1877 — 1938)

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

Iqbal's Philosophy of Society
A Study in Iqbal's Philosophy
Why Pakistan?
Iqbal and Post-Kantian Voluntarism
Religious Thought of Sayyid Ahmad Khan
Qur'anic Ethics
Gulshan-i Raz Jadid, English rendering of Iqbal's *mathnavi* with detailed Explanatory Notes on his Philosophy
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تاریخ تصوف (قبل از اسلام)
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انوار اقبال

Contributed articles to *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, *History of Muslim Philosophy*, *World of Philosophy*, *Armaghan-i Mālik*, etc. etc.

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COMPILED AND EDITED

by

BASHIR AHMAD DAR

National Committee for Birth Centenary Celebrations of Allama Muhammad Iqbal

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PREFACE

While reading Iqbal's Letters, one gets the impression that he was very particular in replying to letters he received. As soon as he finished reading, he would sit down and write out the reply most often on the very day he received them. On very rare occasions he postponed his replies. Letters came to him from all parts of the subcontinent, from Europe, West Asia and other near and far-off lands. Thus it is natural that if all of Iqbal's letters had been preserved, we would have many volumes of his letters in our hands. But many of his letters seem to have been lost. In one of his statements, Iqbal refers to his correspondence with a famous Orientalist, but in spite of our best efforts at the Iqbal Academy, these could not be traced. Same is the case with his correspondence with some of the people of the subcontinent. But in spite of this tragic loss, we have fortunately in our possession several volumes of Iqbal's Letters as a result of dedicated efforts of many great scholars.

The first collection of Iqbal's Letters was published in Haidarabad, Daccan. It was a land which did the most in propagating Iqbal's message. It was here that the first collection of Iqbal's poems was publish-

ed at a time when Iqbal was yet contemplating bringing out one. It was here that such remarkable books as *Iqbal Ka Sayasi Karnama* by Muhammad Ahmad Khan and *Ruh-i Iqbal* by Dr Yusuf Husain Khan were produced. Most of this credit goes to the late Bahadar Yar Jang who made strenuous efforts to spread Iqbal's message in the country.

The late Professor Muhyuddin Zur published *Shad Iqbal* in 1942. This collection had forty-nine letters of Iqbal and about fifty-two letters of Maharaja Krishan Parshad who was popularly known by his poetic name 'Shad', which along with the name of Iqbal became the title of the book. The reader can better appreciate Iqbal's letters when he has before him the original letter to which Iqbal's letter was a reply. Such material definitely helps the reader understand the trend of Iqbal's mind. This Collection of Iqbal's Letters had the honour of being the first in the field.

This Collection, however, did not fully exhaust Iqbal's correspondence with Shad and Iqbal lovers were in search of more and more material. Fortunately, fifty more letters of Iqbal addressed to Maharaja Krishan Parshad were discovered and bought by the Iqbal Academy at great cost. Mr Abdullah Qureshi, an eminent Iqbal scholar, has edited this valuable treasure, supplying exhaustive notes and an Introduction dealing with the life and work of the Maharaja and history of his friendly relation with Iqbal. This Collection is included in the quarterly *Sahifah* of October 1973.

The other important collection of Iqbal's Letters is the late Shaikh 'Ataullah's *Iqbal Namah* in two

volumes. It consists of only Urdu letters and those that Iqbal wrote in English are given in Urdu rendering done by the compiler. The first volume was published in 1944 and the second in 1951. The total number of letters is about 450 but if we leave aside those that are included in independent collections, e.g. those of Nadhir Nayazi and Garami and others, there remain only 400 letters approximately. They lack explanatory notes. Letters addressed to Sayyad Sulayman Nadvi, for example, could very easily have been supplemented with Sayyid's replies which were then available and which would have enhanced greatly the value of this collection.

Of much greater importance is the collection of letters addressed to Sayyad Nadhir Nayazi, entitled *Maktubat-i Iqbal*. It consists of 182 letters of which only two are in English which the compiler has rightly reproduced in original. The letters cover the period from 1929 to 1937, when books like *Zabur-i 'Ajam*, *Javid Namah*, *Bal-i Jibril*, *Darb-i Kalim* and *Pas Cheh Bayad Kard* were planned and written. We find in this compilation glimpses of discussion of problems, both political and cultural, that are later dealt with in depth in his book *Iqbal Kay Hudur*.

A small collection of Urdu letters addressed to Khan Niazuddin Khan was published in 1954. It follows the pattern adopted by Shaikh 'Ataullah in *Iqbal Namah*. There are no explanatory notes of any sort which greatly affects the utility of the collection.

There is another remarkable collection of Iqbal's letters edited by Mr Abdullah Qureshi, viz. *Makatib-i Iqbal Banam-i Garami*. This is the only collection

which includes letters addressed to a poet of great eminence in the old classical Persian tradition. These letters reveal how Iqbal's poetic genius developed and how he took meticulous care in attaining perfection in the art. Most of these letters were written when Iqbal was busy writing his Persian *mathnavis*, *Asrar* (1915), *Rumuz* (1918), *Payam-i Mashriq* (1928) and *Zabur-i 'Ajam* (1927). In the first edition of *Rumuz-i Baikhudi*, Iqbal acknowledged his indebtedness to Maulana Garami (besides Maulana Mir Hasan) with regard to poetic technique.

This collection of ninety letters, besides its intrinsic importance, also provides exhaustive explanatory notes along with a biography of Maulana Garami and a detailed account of his friendly relation with Iqbal.

The present writer compiled and edited *Anwar-i Iqbal* in 1967 which comprises about 166 miscellaneous letters. With the exception of very few, it was all new material in the sense that it was scattered in the pages of dailies and monthlies and was not included in any collection. As far as possible, explanatory or introductory notes were supplied and footnotes added here and there.

Of the English letters, the late Atiyya Begum's *Iqbal*, first published in 1947, contains about nine letters. They are spread over a period of four years and one feels there must have been more, which could not be discovered. The first was written while Iqbal was in Cambridge (England), while the other eight letters, written during 1909-1911, reveal the intense inner struggle of Iqbal during the early period of his career, after his return from Europe.

Of far greater importance are the letters contained in the collection *Letters of Iqbal to Jinnah,* first published in 1942. These thirteen letters, covering only thirty two pages, are much more significant than any other collection. Besides containing Iqbal's mature thought on several political and cultural problems facing the Muslims of the subcontinent, it contains the Foreword of the Quaid-i Azam which greatly adds to the worth of this collection.

Another collection of English letters is *Letters and Writings of Iqbal,* compiled and edited by the present writer. It was first published in 1967 and contains about forty letters, about half of which are those, of which Shaikh ʿAtaullah gave Urdu translation in his *Iqbal Namah.*

The latest collection of Iqbal's letters is *Khutut-i Iqbal,* compiled and edited by Professor Rafiʿuddin Hashmi. It contains about 111 letters, some of which are in English. The editor has supplied exhaustive notes and added necessary information where necessary.

The present collection of Iqbal's letters comprises only those written in English, according to the decision of the National Committee. We have tried to include here as many English letters as were available. The reader will find several new letters, so far not included in any collection of Iqbal's letters. There may be one or more which are published for the first time.

We have tried to provide Introductory Notes to almost all the letters, adding footnotes where neces-

sary. It has been our effort to supply all information in the notes that could make comprehension of the letters easy to the readers.

There is one point about spelling. We often employ spellings of words that are not correct phonetically. We follow in this regard our erstwhile British rulers who being ignorant of the true pronunciation often misspelt them. For instance, we usually write Delhi instead of the correct Dehli, Syed instead of Sayyad, Hyderabad instead of Haidarabad, etc. It is now time we should come to our own and leave imitating the British, especially when they are wrong; this is in fact reminiscent of our days of slavery and our self respect demands that we give up this practice as early as possible. We have tried to follow the correct pronunciation but have retained the one used by Iqbal so far as the body of the letters is concerned.

In conclusion, it is my pleasant duty to express my deep gratitude to Dr Abdul Hamid, formerly Chairman, Department of History, University of the Punjab, who went through the typescript and was kind enough to make certain suggestions for its improvement.

B. A. DAR

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to
Atiyya Begum

INTRODUCTION

Out of these ten letters written by Iqbal to Atiyya Begum, the first nine deal with the early period of Iqbal's career as a lawyer after his return from Europe. Unfortunately, we do not possess other letters written during this most critical period of his life when he was under great emotional stress, and which could make or mar the course of his future life. There are, of course, certain letters by Iqbal to Khwaja Hasan Nizami which were written during the same period but they throw almost no light on this personal aspect of his life. This emotional stress and the consequent mental unhingement continued to dog his steps for a little more than two years. It was partly due to an acute consciousness of his moral responsibility towards his elder brother who had been financing him during his education abroad and these early years, and mostly as a result of divine grace that he could completely recover from this strain and maintain the integrity of his personality.

Iqbal's first marriage took place in 1893. When he left for Europe, he had passed about twelve years of his married life and was about thirty years of age. About this period there are available to us two accounts. One is by Mirza Jalal-ud-Din who was his most intimate friend and almost his equal in age. On the eve of his departure for Europe, Iqbal met the Mirza for advice and guidance. This was the first meeting between

them. Mirza Jalal-ud-Din expresses his impressions about Iqbal: "On his face I find cheerfulness and joviality. . . . His bright and cheerful eyes clearly showed that his life was being spent in peace and satisfaction."[1]

The other is Iqbal's poem entitled : "Zuhd aur Rindi" [Continence and Debauchery] included in *Bang-i Dara.*[2] The poem is self-revelatory and shows that he was fond of music and visited singing-houses.[3] At the same time he used to recite the Qur'an in the morning and morally was completely chaste. This poem was published in the *Makhzan* for December 1903 and seems to depict truly Iqbal's character during this period. In short, we find nothing strange or extraordinary about Iqbal's life, marital or otherwise, before he left for Europe.

Iqbal's Life in the West

In Europe—in London, Cambridge, Munich or Heidelberg—we find him in an atmosphere totally different from the one he was accustomed to here. He came across women of great physical charm as well as of superior intellectual attainments. Atiyya Begum gives certain glimpses of Iqbal's life in those days.

Iqbal met Atiyya in London at Miss Beck's residence. She looked after the welfare of Indian students.

1. Mahmud Nizami, Ed., *Malfuzat*, (Lahore, n.d.) p. 58.

2. See *Kulliyat-i Iqbal*, Urdu, pp. 59-60.

3. There are certain rumours that Iqbal used to visit a female singer, Amir by name, whom he intended, as is alleged, to marry. Cf. Iqbal's letter to Sayyid Taqi in Sh. Ataullah, Ed., *Iqbal Namah*, II, 299, where he refers to this woman by name and requests his friend to look after her in his absence from Lahore.

Iqbal had gone to London from Cambridge to invite her on behalf of Mr and Mrs Bilgrami.[4] During mutual conversation they discovered that both of them shared love for Hafiz, the great Persian Lyricist. A few days later, Iqbal invited her at some fashionable hotel in London to meet some German scholars with whom he was working. "I had an intellectual treat," she remarked, "talking and discussing on deeper matters with the German philosophers and Iqbal."[5]

Their meetings followed at Cambridge at Professor Arnold's house where on different occasions both were together and participated in lively conversations. On 10 June 1907, Iqbal went to her place "with a few German and Arabic books on philosophy in the company of a German professor and read out portions from them starting a discussion in which all joined, referring to Hafiz in between as a comparison."[6]

On 27 June, they were again together at a party given by a German woman Miss Sholey. Here Iqbal read the whole of his thesis to Atiyya Begum and invited her comments on *Persian Metaphysics.* The 13, 14 and 15 of June 1907 were fixed for reading philosophy for two hours each day. "Professor Schaccent . . . myself, Iqbal," says Atiyya, "read and discussed poetry and higher philosophy with absorbing

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4. Sayyid 'Ali Bilgrami (b. 1850) was a man of culture. He was professor of the Marathi language in Cambridge University when Iqbal went to Europe. He spent most of his life in British service and Hyderabad State service. His house was a rendezvous for scholars from India and other Asian lands. He died in 1911. ʿAbdullah Qureshi, "Nawadar-i Iqbal," in the *Sahifah*, Iqbal Number, I, (October 1973), 149-50.

5. Atiyya, *Iqbal* (Lahore, 1959), p. 21.   6. Ibid., p. 19.

interest."[7]

Atiyya Begum relates how they passed their days in Germany while she was there. She says: "After the day's formal teaching was over, we drifted to a coffee house on the banks of a river near by and a group of students with the two girl professors Fraulein Wegenast and Fraulein Seneschal ['the two beautiful women... from whom Iqbal was receiving instruction in weightly subjects"] started a discussion on German, Greek and French philosophers. These girls knew all these three languages. . . . Iqbal heard and absorbed all that was said with deep attention and humility, and so intent was he in listening that when the whole thing was over he still seemed to take in things from the silence surrounding him, and when the time for departure came he looked as if he was just waking up from a dream."[8]

". . . when suddenly Fraulein Wegenast burst into an Indian song. . . . All joined in the song . . . collecting wild flowers to weave into wreaths as we went along. Suddenly the assembly stopped and amidst fun and amusement placed the wreaths round Iqbal's head. . . ."[9]

"Of all places in Germany Iqbal liked Munich best, partly because he had his first lesson there under the direction of the beautiful and charming daughter of Herr Professor Rann. . . . We went to the home of Professor Rann and after a few words, the young beauty Fraulein Rann started examining Iqbal to find

7. Ibid., pp. 20-21.
8 Ibid , p. 27,
9. Ibid., p. 29.

what deeper studies he was engaged in. . . . Iqbal was completely lost in front of her. . . . She seemed perfect in every branch of learning—apart from being a perfect piece of creation. . . ."[10]

"Once Frauleins Wegenast, Seneschal, and Kadernat were doing . . . Physical Culture exercises, and I had Fraulein Wegenast's arm round me as the exercise demanded. We were busy with this work, when suddenly Iqbal appeared and stood in front of us staring and transfixed like a statue. When Wegenast asked what he was looking at so intently, he immediately replied, 'I have suddenly been transformed into an astronomer, so I am studying the constellation of stars.' "[11]

"The company was so filled with joy that they improvised a flower-dance to crown the moment. It was led by Wegenast who danced with Iqbal a folk-dance in which other students joined."[12]

When Iqbal returned to Lahore after a stay of three years, he was absolutely a different man in more respects than one. On the ideological level, he had decided to "illumine the dark horizon of the East" with a new type of song that reveals to the bewildered people "the face of the lost Joseph" and bewitch them with the charming countenance of the Arabian sweetheart.[13]

The other change that Iqbal experienced is more

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10. Ibid., pp. 31-32.

11. Ibid., p. 33.

12. Ibid.

13. *Kulliyat-i Iqbal*, Urdu, p. 132. For this change, see the writer's article, "Historical Background of Iqbal's Early Poems," in quarterly *Iqbal*, for July-September 1974.

personal and relevant here. He came back in July 1908 and on the basis of sources, available to us, we can say that his anguish was first expressed in a letter to Atiyya written on 9 April 1907, only eight months after his return. The reason that Iqbal himself gives is his revulsion against maintaining marital relationship with a woman who was made his wife when he had expressed his unwillingness to enter into wedlock with her. He was ready to accept his moral responsibility and pay her maintenance allowance but he could not, he tells us, bring himself round to live with her—for such a living would not bring that happiness and peace which was his right as an individual.

But it is strange that this woman did not provoke such a strong sentiment of revulsion before he left for Europe. The disparity no doubt was already there but after his experience of women he met during his three years of stay in Europe, this disparity naturally accentuated and he felt its sting very acutely. During those days Iqbal was under the spell of love for a type of a woman who was highly educated, well versed in subjects in which he was interested, in whose company he could discuss problems of life and death, as he did in Europe, and was able to get emotional satisfaction in the bargain.

But could he attain this objective? Was it possible for him to marry a woman of this type, specially when she could hardly be acceptable in the household of a lower middle-class Muslim family during the first decade of the twentieth century?

It was this contradiction in the situation which became the cause of Iqbal's anguish. On one side

was his love for an intellectual type of woman whose company was felt, on the basis of his personal experience, to be highly satisfying both intellectually and emotionally; on the other was his social milieu which was too conservative and convention-ridden to allow the intrusion of such a type of woman into its preserves. Iqbal was on the horns of a vicious dilemma; he could find no solution to his problem compatible with his situation. It seems as if he himself could not fathom the depth of his real feelings and was in search of some Unseen Guide. In one of his letters (7 July 1909), he says: "I am anxious to go to that place because I should like to meet the Creator and call upon him to give me a *rational* [italics ours] explanation of my mind which I think is not an easy task for him to do."[14]

If we study the poem that Iqbal sent from Munich to Atiyya who had returned home, and which is included in *Bang-i Dara*, under the very significant title: "Wisal" (Union), we can very well appreciate one aspect of Iqbal's life,viz. his sense of gratification at his success in his experience of love. By good fortune he got the "flower" he was in search of; now this dark earth is illumined by the light of love and the face of the old friend is always there in its full brilliance.[15]

There is another poem: "Beauty and Love" in *Bang-i Dara* which reveals the same attitude of self-fulfilment. "Just as the silvery canoe of the moon melts away into the flood of the sun in the morning; just as the milky-coloured flower vanishes into the

14. Atiyya, *Iqbal*, p. 52.

15. *Kulliyat*, Urdu, p. 120.

overpowering light of the moon; so does my heart swim along the torrents of your love. Since your love took abode in my heart, my nature has developed new talents. Beauty led love towards perfection; my hope's sapling has fully blossomed. My life's caravan successfully reached its destination."[16]

Most of the poems belonging to this period were definitely of personal nature. In a letter of 7th July 1911, Iqbal writes: "During the last 5, 6 years my poems have become more of a private nature and I believe the public have no right to read them. Some of these I have destroyed altogether. . . ."[17] It confirms the point of view put forth here that those poems are expressions of his personal experience.

Now we turn to another poem called: "Song of Sorrow". It was sent along with a letter (14 December 1911) to Atiyya Begum, about three years after his return from Europe when he had almost succeeded in overcoming the emotional strain. It reveals the poet's intense heart-burning at his failure in his love experience:

> Ah! love's hope was never fulfilled;
> as the destiny of the dew lies in its flight,
> my nature finds its fulfilment in songs of sorrow.[18]

The last lines express a universal experience of unsuccessful love leading to great creative efforts

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16. Ibid., p. 116. 17. Atiyya, *Iqbal*, pp. 77-78.

18. *Kulliyat-i Iqbal*, Urdu, pp. 124-25. See Atiyya, *Iqbal*, p. 81. In the words of Atiyya Begum, Iqbal wished "he were here with me to sing them in that particular musical tone which he had visualised in his mind."

that have proved immortal in the history of world literature. Intensity of love for an earthly object, when it fails to achieve its objective, spontaneously leads great minds to love for some higher object that bursts forth into songs of imperishable value.

There are several classic examples of this sipritual transformation. When Dante failed to win his beloved's attention, in total desperation he sank within his own depth from where burst forth love-songs of unfailing charm. The grief and sorrow at his failure served as a leaven towards producing a literature of highest order. When we look at Rumi's encounter with Shams-i Tabriz, we witness the same phenomenon. Shams, the object of Rumi's love, disappears; Rumi was emotionally upset: he was all grief and wretchedness; his normal poise and quietude disappeared and it seemed he had lost balance of his mind. He sought relief in music and dancing which seemed to bring back to him composure and sanity. By failing to find Shams, Rumi succeeded in discovering himself. This self-discovery was the fruit of his failure in love which gave to the world the immortal *Mathnavi* that has been giving and shall continue to give solace to the grief-stricken man.

Shah 'Abdul Latif of Bhit had an experience similar in nature, though different in form. The Shah quite unexpectedly chanced to meet a young woman of extraordinary charm and beauty. It seemed to be a case of love at first sight. The heart-burning and anguish that ensued soon became intolerable. The father of the girl refused to marry the girl to the Shah who, in desperation, left the town and for full three

years wandered all over the country to win back composure of mind which had been lost and, as it seemed then, lost for ever. By good fortune, he reached Thatha where he chanced to meet a scholarsaint of great eminence, Makhdum Muhammad Mu'in. This encounter helped the Shah re-channel the dynamism of his lost love into new creative moulds. As in the case of Rumi, music and songs helped to restore peace and composure; it was the charm of music that sustained him throughout his life and it was amidst these musical notes that he gave up his soul to his Creator. The immortal *Risalo* is the throbbing of a heart suffering acutely from the pangs of love. It is the disclosure of the Shah's soul in search of the Great Beloved.

میرا دکھ درد ہو گیا سب دور میں نے دیدار سے شفا پائی[19]

[All my sorrow passed away;
Beloved's vision healed me of the malady.]

Iqbal has expressed this idea, which is really based on his own personal experience, and which, as we have seen, is universally valid, in a poem "Philosophy of Grief," which was written on the occasion of the death of Sir Fazl-i Husain, Iqbal's classmate and friend. It was published in the *Makhzan* of July 1910. It was written during the most acute period of Iqbal's life, the period covered by these letters when he was emotionally disturbed.

It is no nightingable that's stranger to autumn;
the heart's story is gory with wishes' blood.

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19. Shaykh Ayaz, *Risalo* (Urdu translation, 1963), p. 21.

Man's melody is incomplete without wail of woe,
in sooth sorrow illumines the heart;
bewailing adds charm to beauty of soul,
man's nature is perfected through grief
which adds lustre to heart's mirror.
Man's heart is a mystery; grief supplies the key to it,
grief is but soul's silent song—
a melodius note from life's lute.[20]

If one fails to win the object of one's love, it does not mean the end of love. Failure and grief are no doubt such experiences implying continued bewailing and cries; love once born never dies—it is the mirror of eternity and provides dynamism of life to experience. Iqbal sings in the same strain:

Love is the preface to eternity's ancient document;
man's intellect is transient, but love is eternal.
Love does not die with beloved's death,
it lives on in soul as grief.[21]

The same feeling of love's failure and the consequent anguish is so beautifully expressed in the poem: "On a Flower-offering." After commenting on the event when Miss Gottesman, a friend of Princess Dalip Singh, plucked a flower and gave it to Iqbal,[22] he was moved and gives expression to his personal disillusionment in love:

Could never flower-like nestle
In the desired one's breast,
Nor ever feel the smooth
Touch of the shimmering vest.

20. *Kulliyat-i Iqbal*, Urdu, pp. 155-56.
21. Ibid., p. 158.
22. Atiyya Begum, *Iqbal*, p. 79.

Its leaves with April's luck,
No springtime shall come freighting.
It withers in this waiting
For her who comes to pluck.[23]

The same personal note is discernible in another poem: "Two Stars"[24] which was published in the *Makhzan* of August 1909. It ends with the same note:

Eternal union is a dream,
And severance the world's law supreme.[25]

In spite of these intense convulsions, Iqbal succeeded in overcoming these emotional stresses and strains, which are so clearly revealed in these letters of his. In the last letters of 1910 and 1911, he seems to have finally crossed the barrier from helplessness, disillusionment and cynicism to poise, calm, and serenity and looked at the future with a new hope grown out of his spiritual experience of love. This experience which started around the personality of an individual soon transcended the limitations of space and time and covered the whole of mankind in its sweep.

We are grateful to Atiyya Begum who could treasure the memory of Iqbal and the splended days that they passed together—the days that, as Iqbal put it, were never to return. It was due to her deep interest in Iqbal that she made all this treasure available to the reading public for the first time in 1947. She happened to read my book *A Study in Iqbal's Philosophy*, published by Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf in 1945, and

23. Kiernan, *Poems from Iqbal*, p. 15.
24. *Kulliyat-i Iqbal*, Urdu, p. 148.
25. Kiernan, op. cit., p. 14.

ACADEMY OF ISLAM

(International)

23.10.'45
Ridge Road
Bombay

Jenab Bashir Ahmad Saheb

I congratulate you on your gre-eat book on Iqbals Philosophy Will you be good enough to send me a copy V.P. ? Many than-ks indeed. I read it thro' a Library & thought it a remar-kable work. Have you read my

[facing p. 14]

wrote to me in December the same year: "I congratulate you on your great book on Iqbal's philosophy. . . . I read it through a library and thought it a remarkable work. . . ." I had the good fortune of meeting her in Karachi during 1965-66 through the courtesy of the late Mr Dia'ud-din Barni. She was old and in indifferent health but her face would brighten up while talking of Iqbal.

(1)

Trinity College
Cambridge
24th April 07

My dear Miss Fayzee,

I enclose herewith one of the poems I promised to send you,[1] and shall feel obliged if you could read it carefully and let me know of your criticism.

I was thinking of sending you a copy of my ***Political Economy*** in Urdu[2] but I am sorry I haven't got one here though it would not be difficult to get it from India. I shall write for it this mail.

Hoping you are getting on well.

Yours sincerely
S. M. Iqbal

اے گل ز خارِ آرزو ، آزاد چوں رسیدۂ
تو ہم ز خاکِ ایں چمن مانندِ ما دمیدۂ
اے شبنم از فضائے گل ، آخر ستم چہ دیدۂ
دامن ز سبزہ چیدۂ ، تا بفلک رسیدۂ
از لوحِ خویش باز پرس ، قصۂ جرمہائے ما
آخر جوابِ نا سزا ، از لبِ ما شنیدۂ
با من بگو کہ مثل گل ہموارہ شاخ بستہ باش
مانندِ موج بو مرا ، آوارہ آفریدۂ
ہنگامۂ دیر یک طرف ، شورشِ کعبہ یک طرف
از آفرینشِ جہاں ، درد سرے خریدۂ

هستیم ما گدائے تو ، یا گدائے ما ستی
بہرِ نیازِ سجدۂ ، در پسِ ما دویدۂ
افتی اگر بدستِ ما ، حلقہ بگرد تو کشیم
ہنگامہ گرم کردۂ ، خود از میان رمیدۂ
اقبال غربت تو ام ، نشتر بدل ہمی زند
تو در ہجومِ عالمے ، یک آشنا ندیدۂ

(2)

Lahore
13th January 09

My dear Miss Atiyya,

Thank you so much for the very kind letter which I have just received to my great relief.[3] I have a mind to come to Bombay for a personal expression of sympathy, but unfortunately on the 29th of December, when I was participating in one of the Conference[4] discussions I received a telegram from home telling me that my brother[5] was seriously ill. I had to run to Sialkot the same afternoon. The remaining holidays I looked after him. Thank God that he is all right now. God has spared him for me. I have spent and am still spending so much of his money. His loss would have been dreadful from every point of view.

It is extremely kind of their Highnesses and yourself to ask me to come to Janjira. Nothing could be more pleasant as well as profitable intellectually and physically. But you are aware that I have just started my business which requires my constant presence at the station. For the sake of others I must forgo the pleasure of your society in spite of a strong—almost irrepressible—desire to come and help you and your sister in getting over your recent sorrow. I feel I can be of some use to you in this respect, but I am constrained to be cruel to my sentiments in suppressing them for considerations whose force makes itself felt—situated as I am —all the more vehemently.

Please do not dislike me for this bit of worldly wisdom which, of course, is folly when we are in the dreamland of poetry. It is,

tberefore, not possible for me to come to Janjira in the near future. I may however manage to see you during the September holidays when the Chief Court is closed. To spend some time in the company of their Highnesses or yourself is however intellectual treat and pleasure all combined. Please convey my most respectful salam to them and assure them of the good wishes of a far off friend whose circumstances cannot rob (him) of his imagination though they have cruelly robbed him of immeasurable opportunities to visit you or their Highnesses.

Yours ever
S. M. Iqbal

P. S. My book on Persian Metaphysics is published ; I shall soon send you a copy. The poems (lyrical) I hope to publish soon. They will be printed in India, bound in Germany and dedicated to Indian Lady.[7]

(3)

Lahore
9th April 09

My dear Miss Faizee,

Thank you so much for your very kind letter which I received this morning.

I cannot tell you who is Mr Mir Muhammad. Probably you do not know him; but you know his wife. I hope you will be able to identify him by this time.

Yes I refused the Aligarh Chair of Philosophy[8] and a few days ago I refused to accept the Lahore Government College Chair of History. I do not wish to enter any service. My object is to run away from this country as soon as possible. You know the reason. I have a sort of moral debt to my brother which detains me. My life is extremely miserable. They force my wife upon me. I have written to my father that he had no right to arrange my marriage especially when I had refused to enter into any alliance of that sort. I am quite willing to support her, but I am not prepared to make my life miserable by keeping her with me. As a human being I have a right to happiness—if society or nature deny that to me, I defy both. The only cure is that I should leave this wretched country for ever, or take refuge in liquor which makes suicide easier. Those dead barren leaves of books cannot yield happiness; I have got sufficient fire in my soul to burn them up and social conventions as well. A good God created all this, you say. Maybe. The facts of this life, however, tend to a different conclusion. It is intellectually easier to believe in an eternal omni-

potent Devil rather than a good God. Please excuse me for these utterances. I do not want sympathy. I wanted only to disburden my soul. You know all about me and for this reason I have ventured to give expression to my feelings. This is a confidence: please do not tell anybody. I hope you understand now why I refused service.

I am extremely sorry that I haven't been able to get an استانی (*ustani*) for you. The Secretary of the Anjuman[9] told me the other day that it was not possible to get one. The other day I delivered a public lecture on the meaning of ***religion as a factor in the evolution of society***.[10] I took down a few notes. I do not know whether anybody took notes of what I said. The Anjuman lecture will be in English—"Islam As a Moral and Political Ideal".[11] If it is printed I shall send you a copy. I shall ask the Editor of ***Observer***[12] to send you a copy of ***The Observer*** to you. Abdul Qadir has come to Lahore to practise in the Chief Court.[13]

I am sorry to hear that you do not believe me when I say that I wish to come to Bombay to see you and their Highnesses who were so very kind to me. I certainly do wish to come over—whether this would be possible I cannot say at present. No greater relief to me than this.

Two three weeks ago I received a letter from your girl friend Wegenast.[14] I like the girl who is so good and truthful. I have written to her and to the good old Frau Professor.

Please remember me to their Highnesses and assure them of my friendship—which though not of much use to them—is nonetheless true and unflinching.

Yours sincerely
Iqbal

(4)

Lahore
17th April 09

My dear Miss Atiyya,

Thank you for the consoling words—your letter has brought me great relief. I too wish to see you and pour out my entire self before you. You say you want to ask me many questions—why don't you? Your letters to me are always kept in a safe chest; nobody can see them. And you know I withhold nothing from you and I believe it is a sin to do so. I admit, my letters are not at all satisfying as you say—but they are necessarily so for the reasons you mentioned in your last letter. Don't accuse me of forgetfulness; I forget nothing; but I should like to hear the explanation simply because I wish to see how you explain. Last night I went to heaven and happened to pass through the gates of Hell. I found the place dreadfully cold. They told me, when they found me amazed, that the place was cold in its own nature; but that it would become intensely hot since everybody had to bring his own fire from the world.[15] I am preparing to collect as much burning coal as possible in this country where there are not many coal mines.

I often see Abdul Qadir, almost every day in the Bar Room of the Chief Court, but we have not talked about you for a long time. I do not talk much with others now; my own wretched self is a mine of miserable thoughts which emerge snake-like from the deep and dark holes of my soul. I think I shall become a snake charmer and walk about in the streets with a host of curious boys behind me. Don't think that I am pessimist. I tell

you misery is most delicious; and I enjoy my misfortune and laugh at those who believe they are happy. You see how I steal my happiness.

I received a letter from Miss Wegenast some time ago.[16] When I write to her I shall remind her of the days when you were in Germany—ah, the days which will never come again. She is at present at her own place—Hillsonn; but, I believe, she must have come by this time to Heidelberg to assist Frau Professor in her teaching work. You may rest assured that she is quite well. Please excuse my bad writing. I do not remember what I have written before—each moment brings its own thought with it, so that if you find my letter incoherent, forgive the vagrant.

As regards the *ustani*, I have received an application today, forwarded to me by the Superintendent of the Zanana Schools of the Anjuman-i Himayat-i Islam, Lahore. I am going to correspond with her and shall soon let you know of the result. But I should like to know whether she will have to teach in a public girls' school, and in Janjira or Bombay. My elder brother is transferred to a place about 16 miles from Bombay. He will proceed shortly.

Two issues of *Observer* are sent herewith. I hope, you will find them interesting. Please remember me to their Highnesses and oblige.

Yours very sincerely

Iqbal

(5)

Lahore
17th July 09

My dear Miss Atiyya,

Thank you very much for your letter which I have just received. I find myself extraordinarily cheerful this morning; so please excuse me if you discern a vein of humour in my letter. I have not changed my plans; you are not justified in making the inference from my silence. But, of course, I am sometime scared by two boats, one steamer, two tongas and two creeks—a veritable ہفت خوان[17] which will bring me the fame of Rustam if I could get through it. The need of Rustam was great and I am not certain what my need would be. I generally make up my mind to do a certain thing and then give myself up to circumstances leaving me to carry me whither they will. You are not conscious of what you have done me—this is true and better so. You could not have been conscious of it. I am conscious of it, but cannot give an expression to it. Let us drop the subject. It would be futile on my part to describe the indescribable, and then you say you are not open to conviction. These petty grievances (you are wrong in describing them petty) may I know them? You will not stint information on this point specially if these grievances are against me. Of course, everybody is waiting patiently for the place of rest. I am anxious to go to that place because I shall like to meet the Creator and call upon Him to give me a rational explanation of my mind which I think is not an easy task for Him to do. I am incomprehensible to myself—you should not complain. Years ago

I wrote:

اقبال بھی اقبال سے آگاہ نہیں ہے! کچھ اس میں تمسخر نہیں، واللہ نہیں ہے[18]

[Iqbal himself is not aware of Iqbal,
By God, it is not a joke.]

Many people have made similar statements about me and I have often laughed at myself in solitude. I now propose to give a final answer to such statements. You will see it published in the مخزن (*Makhzan*).[19] I have nicely put what people think about me; the answer is yet to be versified.

I am sorry to hear that you were distressed to find people in North India not respecting or admiring me. I tell you that I do not care for other people's respect—I do not mean to live by other people's breath—

جینا وہ کیا جو ہو نفس غیر پر مدار
شہرت کی زندگی کا بھروسا بھی چھوڑ دے

[It is no life, if one has to live on others' breath;
leave relying on the life of fame.][20]

I live a straightforward honest life; my heart is in perfect unison with my tongue. People respect and admire hypocrisy. If hypocrisy brings me fame, respect and admiration I would rather die unknown and unlamented. Let the many-headed monster of public give their dross of respect to others who act and live in accordance with their false ideals of religion and morality. I cannot stoop to respect their conventions which suppress the innate freedom of man's mind. Byron, Goethe and Shelley were not respected by their contemporaries—and though I am far inferior to them in poetic power I am proud that I am in their company in this respect.

Have I instructed you? You never stood in need of instruction. I remember I introduced you to Plato but there it ended. We read so little of it that I cannot justly claim the honour of having instructed you. You say I have no regard for your wishes. This is indeed strange; for I always make it a point to obey your wishes and to please you in any way I can. But sometimes, of

course, such a thing is beyond my power. The force of my nature impels me in a different direction.

"Otherwise you would be more careful." I confess I do not understand what you mean. Please explain to me in what respect I should be more careful. I am ready to do all that will please you. The world cannot worship me. I would not be worshipped, since my nature is such that I cannot become an object of worship—so deeply is ingrained in me the instinct of a worshipper. But if the innermost thoughts of my soul are ever revealed to the public, if what lies covered in my heart is ever expressed—then, I am sure, the world will worship me some day after my death. They will forget my sins, and give me the tribute of a tear.

The Lt. Governor was willing to recommend me to the Secretary of State for India for the vacant Professorship in the Lahore Government College, but I have given up the idea of standing a candidate for the appt. [appointment?] much against my personal inclination. Force of circumstances compels me to consider things from a financial point of view—a point of view which was revolting to me a few years ago. I have decided to continue in the legal profession trusting in God's help.

Could you send me a copy of the poem I wrote to you from Munich? I have got no copy of it and I wish to keep one with me.[21]

Please convey my salaams to their Highnesses.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(6)

Lahore
30th March 10

My dear Miss Atiyya,

Thank you so much for your ملامت نامہ[22] which I enjoyed very much. Nothing is more enjoyable than ملامت from a friend. I received His Highness's invitation at Hyderabad and soon after I wrote to you as to why it was not possible for me to come to Murud. Yesterday on my return I received the letter—the sweet scolding—and wired to His Highness that I could not come owing to my college engagement which has handicapped me so often. If I could have stayed a little more at Hyderabad I am sure His Highness the Nizam would have expressed a desire to see me. I saw all the big people there and most of them invited me to their place. My visit to Hyderabad had some meaning which I shall explain to you when we meet. The Hydaries[23] were not the only consideration of my visit. Perhaps you know them.[24] I have not had the pleasure of their acquaintance before I saw them at Hyderabad. I enjoyed my stay with them immensely. It is extremely kind of Mrs. Hydari to speak so kindly of me. I felt quite at home in her house. I like the intensely Arab spirit in her, and I have a great admiration for her good sense and wisdom in all the affairs which attract her attention or sympathy. It was chiefly through the influence of Mr. and Mrs. Hydari that I had the good fortune to see some of the best specimens of the Hyderabad society. Mr. Hydari is a man of great culture and broad sympathies. I expected him to be a man of dry facts and figures, but

nature has given him a very fine imagination and a very tender heart. I have immense respect for both of them. Theirs is the second real home that I have seen—the first being the Arnolds.[25] Mrs. Hydari is a person of intuition whereby she can see things more clearly than we men by their cold analysing reason.

Now would you be so kind as to convey my apologies to their Highnesses and ask pardon on my behalf. I really do not know what became of my letter which I wrote to you after the receipt of His Highness's wire. I am unfortunately a man who does not reveal his affections but they are none the less deep for want of expression. People are apt to think that I am cold. Please assure their Highnesses that I am always at their disposal, and whenever it is possible for me to come to Janjira I shall do so with the greatest pleasure. I had only ten days' casual leave which expired on the 28th. I left Hyderabad on the 23rd and it takes about 4 days to reach Lahore from Hyderabad. Moreover I had to visit Aurangzeb's tomb on my way back on which I am going to write the most stirring poem that the readers of Urdu have ever read.[26] I reached Lahore on the morning of 29th and had to go straight to the College and thence to the Court. Under these circumstances you can see yourself—it was not possible for me to make a trip to Janjira. I had therefore to forgo the pleasure of seeing their Highnesses. I hope this explanation will convince you and you will act the advocate for me. I have got my faults but certainly not hypocrisy and indifference. Perhaps I am a mystery (even to myself) as you would like to put it; but this mystery is known to everybody.

وہ راز ہوں کہ زمانے پر آشکار ہوں میں

[I am the secret that stands revealed to the world.]

My ways be strange, but there are people in this wicked world whose ways are stranger than mine. Opportunity is the only test of a man's real nature. If any opportunity comes I shall certainly show you how intensely I love my friends and how deeply my heart feels for them all. People hold life dear and rightly so; I have got the strength to give it away when it is required by others. No, don't call me indifferent or hypocrite, not

even by implication, for it hurts my soul and makes me shudder at your ignorance of my nature. I wish I could turn inside outwards in order to give you a better view of my soul which you think is darkened by hypocrisy or indifference.

Please ask forgivness on my behalf for this unavoidable remissness and let me know immediately that my explanation has convinced him.

Yours ever
Mohd. Iqbal

(7)

Lahore
7th April 10

My dear Miss Atiyya,

Thank you very much for your kind letter which I received this morning. You do not seem to realise that I wrote to you two letters from Hyderabad; one before I heard anything from you and the other after I had received your telegram. In my second letter I acknowledged your telegram and explained to you how it was not possible for me to come to Janjira. As ill luck would have it, this second letter which would have saved you a good deal of scolding went wrong. I am at a loss to know why it did not reach you. I am afraid you are suffering from a very bad misunderstanding about my conduct and motives, and it is not easy to cure you of it without seeing you. It has become, in the interest of friendship which I still claim, absolutely necessary that we should see each other. And I shall find time to do so, though you think there would be no opportunity for a verbal explanation. I hope I shall be able to convince you of my truth and sincerity. I believe in your good nature. But for the present I must ask you to convey my explanation to their Highnesses. I am sure they are more forgiving than you are. The misunderstanding which has unfortunately come between us has many causes, and these causes, I am afraid, are unconsciously working in your mind. It is my misfortune that they have so far prejudiced you against me that you charge my with insincerity and untruth. Please do not make any inferences about my visit to Hyderabad—such as reception by the

Nizam, etc.—until you have heard me. I could not have undertaken such a long journey merely for seeing friends at a time when I could ill afford to do so. I may tell you that I do agree with you in what you say about Hyderabad society. I thought, until this morning, when I received your last letter, that there was an undercurrent of good will in your letter I received on my return to Lahore. But this letter has upset me ; I find that you are really angry with me. Your letter has upset me and I shall have to bear all this until I have cleared myself in your eyes. I assure you that my mind has not undergone any change ; I am still the same person and you will see it for yourself one day. I *predict it*.

Where did I speak of the Nizam's recognition as an honour? You know I do not care for all these things. I do not wish to become known as a poet: though unfortunately people know me in this capacity. Only the other day I received a letter from an Italian Baroness at Naples asking me to send her a few of my poems with English translation. But I feel no enthusiasm about poetry and *you are responsible for it*. What do I care for a native ruler's recognition when I receive recognition from persons of culture in foreign lands? No ! My dear Miss Atiyya, do not misunderstand me ; do not be so cruel as you have shown yourself, beyond my expectations, in your last letter. You have not heard *all*. You do *not* know my troubles which will, to a great extent, explain my conduct. A thorough explanation of my attitude towards you will require an intolerably long letter—perhaps more letters than one. Moreover, the actual sound of words is more convincing than the mere reproduction of the sounds on the paper. Paper lacks humanity. And there are things which ought not to appear on paper. Do not be so hasty in judging my motives. You accuse me of having become mercenary and practical. Perhaps there is an element of truth in it ; but when you know all the circumstances you will find some justification for it. In other respects I am still a dreamer and "*a dreamer of exquisite fancies*" as one of your friends has recently called me in an essay of his on Urdu Literature. His Highness was not mistaken in looking upon you as the only authority on my whereabouts. May I suggest that you did not choose to continue to be so ; though I have confessed and shall

always confess the power of this authority? Some people look upon me as a similar authority about you; but imagine my disappointment when I hear from other people that you had designed to visit Lahore and were already in it! And you did not condescend to drop a line to me! It was sheer chance that I had the pleasure to see you only to make myself more miserable. I am afraid I am writing things which ought to be reserved for talk. I shall not write more about it, since I feel tempted to outpour myself and say many other things—not necessarily of the same kind—which I need not bring on paper. For the sake of those days when you had so much confidence and regard for me, grant me one thing—request their Highnesses on my behalf to realise my situation and forgive me for my remissness. If I could have come, nothing could have been more pleasant to me. I do not say more, lest the tone of my lelter be looked upon as insincere. It is my misfortune that you read my letters with the background of a wrong impression of my attitude towards you and do not make an effort to get rid of a channel of thought or feeling in which your mind has begun to run. If you cannot do so, then for the sake of truth and honesty which, as you think, are no longer mine; but which, as I believe, are already yours, wait till the whole thing comes before you. It is only just to do so; and you *are* just, even though you may be, at times, cruel and unrelenting. In memory of those days, then,—days dead in nature, are 'living' in my heart—do convey my message to them and tell them not to attribute my remissness to indifference, or to the fact that any other person holds a warmer place in my heart or (is) higher in my estimation. On my return to Lahore I received your letter and wired to His Highness explaiuing to him that I could not visit Janjira owing to College engagement. But I do not know whether my telegram reached him or went wrong like my letter from Hyderabad which has caused this unfortunate misunderstanding.

Thank you so much for the copy of the poem which you have so kindly sent to me. It was badly needed. I tried to recollect the verses, but could not do so in spite of repeated efforts. I have been receiving letters from various parts of the country to bring out my poems in book form. A gentleman whom you have perhaps met

has offered to do the whole thing for me—to write an introduction, to get them printed in the best press in India and to get the book bound in Germany. But I feel no enthusiasm for poetry: I feel as if somebody has slain my pretty mood and I am left widowed of all my imagination. Perhaps the poem on Aurangzeb —whose tomb I have recently visited—will be my last. I feel as if it is my duty to write this poem and hope that once completed, it will live for some time to come. I think I must finish now; I have bored you enough. It is now half past twelve; I feel extremely tired after the day's work and go to bed with a heavy heart.

Thanking you for all your scolding.

Yours ever sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal
Lahore

(8)

Lahore
7th July 1911

My dear Miss Fyzee,

I am so sorry that I have not been able to attend to your very kind letter which I received some time ago. The reason is that I have been very much upset during these days—my misfortune has been following me like a faithful dog; and I have learnt to like the Dame for her untiring loyalty to her miserable king. Detail I shall let you know later on.

As regards the poems, I shall be glad to send you a copy of [them.] A friend of mine has lent me a collection of my poems. I have engaged a man to transcribe them for me. When his work is over, I shall revise the whole, rewrite the poems fit for publication and send a copy of these to you. You need not be grateful to me; since making you happy, as you say [in your kind letter, is my sufficient reward. On the other hand, I am grateful to you for the admiration which I do not deserve at all. But what will you do with these poems—these wailings of a bleeding heart? There is nothing of cheerfulness in them. So I say in my dedication—

خندہ ہے بہرِ طلسم غنچہ تمہید شکست
تو تبسم سے مری کلیوں کو نا محرم سمجھ
درد کے پانی سے ہے سرسبزیٔ کشتِ سخن
فطرتِ شاعر کے آئینے میں جوہرِ غم سمجھ

[For the talisman of the bud, smile is the beginning of the end ; regard my buds totally unaware of smile.

The field of poetry prospers through the water of suffering
the real essence of poet's nature is suffering]

The great difficulty is selection for publication. During the 5, 6 years my poems have become more of a private nature and I believe the public have no right to read them. Some of them I have destroyed altogether for fear of somebody stealing them away and publishing them. However I shall see what I can do. Father has asked me to write a Masnavi in Persian after Bu Ali Qalandar's; in spite of the difficulty of the task I have undertaken to do so. Here are the opening verses :[27]

نالہ را اندازِ نو ایجاد کن   بزم را از ہائے و ہو آباد کن
آتش استی بزم عالم بر فروز   دیگران را ہم ازین آتش بسوز
سینہ را سر منزلِ صد نالہ ساز   اشکِ خونین را جگر پرکالہ ساز
پشت پا بر شورشِ دنیا بزن   موجۂ بیرون ایں دریا بزن

The rest I have forgotton, but hope to be able to recollect when I return from court. It is now 10 and I must be going. Herewith is enclosed a غزل (Ghazal) which is recently published in the ادیب (Adib). I have written to my friend Sardar Umrao Singh[29] (whom I suppose you know) to send me a copy of his English translation of a few verses which I wrote to Miss Gottesman (a friend of Princess Dalip Singh) on her presenting to me a beautiful flower plucked from the Shalamar Gardens. The original, I am afraid, is not with me. I shall try to find it out for you.

Please remember me to their Highnesses and oblige.

Yours sincerely
Mohammad Iqbal

(9)

Lahore
14th December 1911

Dear Miss Fyzee,

Thank you so much for your kind letter which I received a moment ago. Do not show the poem to Mrs Naidu[28] if you think she cannot appreciate Urdu poetry.

This is one of the new poems which are yet nowhere published. Here are a few more verses which I wrote the day before yesterday early in the morning at 4 am. I have never tried this metre before. It is extremely musical; I wish I had been there to sing the poem to you and the Begum Sahiba.

Yours sincerely
Md. Iqbal

The Partitiou of Bengal[30]—the severance of Muslim Bengal from the Hindu Bengal was—so the Bengalee Hindu thought—a mortal wound inflicted by the Government on the heart of Bengalee nationality. The Government, however, have cleverly undone their own doing by the imperialisation of Delhi. The Bengalee thinks he has scord a great point, little thinking that his importance has thereby been reduced to zero point. Here are two verses on this point:

مندمل زخم دل بنگال آخر ہو گیا
وہ جو تھی پہلے تمیز کافر و مومن گئی

تاج۔ شاہی یعنی کلکتے سے دہلی آ گیا
مل گئی بابو کو جوتی اور پگڑی چھن گئی

[The wound of Bengal's heart was after all healed.;
the distinction between believer and unbeliever now disappeared.
The kingly crown moved to Delhi from Calcutta,
the Babu got the shoes but lost the turban.]

(10)

Lahore
29th May 1933

My dear Atiyya Begum,

I have not yet heard about your Memorial. As to Palestine affairs I am afraid you are not correctly informed. I have advised the Mufti[29] not to come to India till at least the middle of October. I cannot say whether he will take my advice. What Shaukat Ali says of me is really a compliment which I do not deserve. I am only a lump of clay like him and nothing more. My Private Secretary in Spain—an English girl—suddenly changed her attitude towards me and began to serve me more like a مرید (*murid*) than a private secretary. I asked her the reason of change of attitude which was quite noticeable. She explained that she had discovered me to be a Divine Being! It is not possible to define and describe myself positively; I can do so only negatively, i.e. that I am not an idiot.

If you are serious about an All India Muslim Women's Conference you should not start it under the auspices of any conference or league. This must be an independent organisation. For its general policy you can of course consult members of the conference.

There is a possibility of my going to Europe about the end of July.[32] I shall let you know if anything comes out of it.

Yours sincerely
Mohammad Iqbal

NOTES

1. It seems this *ghazal* has not been incorporated in any of Iqbal's Persian works. I give here its English rendering:

O rose ! how is it you are free from desire's thorn,
when you have grown, like us, from this garden's soil ?
O dew-drop ! what cruelty have you experienced from the flower
that you forsook this garden and fled to the skies ?
Ask once again your Tablet the story of our sins,
you have after all heard from our lips an unbecoming reply.
Don't tell us to remain tied to the twig like a flower,
you have made me a wanderer like wafts of smell.
There is tumult in the temple, and commotion in the Ka'bah ;
you have created a headache for yourself by creating this world.
Are we your beggar or are you our beggar ?
for a prostration of submission, you run after us.
If you happen to fall in our hands, we shall stand around you,
you have set up the show and disappeared from view.
Iqbal, your roaming in the strange land is poignant,
you have not met a single mate in this teeming world.

According to some experts in *'urud* (metre), this *ghazal* does not fit in any established metre. This view has been conveyed to me through the courtesy of Mr Hadi Husain, at present Chairman, Urdu Development Board, Karachi. I am also indebted to him for translation of the last two verses.

2. Political Economy in Urdu refers to Iqbal's book in Urdu, *'Ilmul Iqtisad*, first published in Lahore in 1903. It was part of his duties as Mcleod Arabic Reader in the University of the Punjab. Some hold that it is an epitomised translation of Walker's *Political Economy* which was then a text-book for graduate students, but Iqbal's book is definitely much more than a translation. In his Introduction to the book, Iqbal states clearly that it is not a translation of any particular book but is based on several standard works on Economics ; often he expresses his own opinions where he was fully confident of its truth. See Professor Muhammad Uthman, "Iqbal aur 'Ilmul Iqtisad," in *Iqbal Review* (Vol. iv, No. 4), for January 1964 ; B.A. Dar, "Iqbal's Prose Works," in *Iqbal* (Vol. xix, No. 1) for July-September 1971, pp. 87-88 ; Ghulam Husain Dhu'lfiqar, "Iqbal Oriental College Main," in *Iqbal* (Vol. x, No. 4) for April 1962.

3. This letter was written in reply to Atiyya Begum's letter informing him of her mother's death. Iqbal had written some letters to which he did not

receive any reply and was naturally anxiously waiting for one. On receiving it, he felt relieved.

4. Most probably this refers to Kashmir Muslim Conference. See Abdullah Qureshi, "Iqbal aur Anjuman Kashmiri Musalmanan," in *Iqbal* for April 1956, p. 45. Iqbal was an active member of the Conference (later called All-India Muslim Kashmiri Conference) which stood for the amelioration of Kashmiri Muslims in the British India and particularly in Kashmir State It met annually and passed resolutions which were forwarded to the State authorities.

The original letter contained "Conference Resolutions," which Iqbal deleted and replaced it with "discussion."

5. His elder brother, Shaikh Ata Ullah, who was fifteen years older than he. He died on 22 December 1940. See Khalid Nazir Sufi, *Iqbal Darun-i Khanah*, p. 49. footnote 1.

6. It refers to his thesis *Development of Metaphysics in Persia*, which he submitted to the Munich University and received his Ph. D. on 4 November 1907. It was later published by Messrs. Luzac & Co., London and was dedicated to Professor T.W. Arnold See Hafiz Malik, *Iqbal, Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan*, p. 19 ; B.A. Dar, "Iqbal's Prose Works," in *Iqbal*, for July-September, 1971, p. 29 ; Faqir Wahid-ud-Din, *Ruzgar-i Faqir*, II, 65 67 ; Professor Schimmel, *Gabriel's Wing*, p. 38 ; Shaikh Ataullah, Ed., *Iqbalnamah*, II, 228-29.

7. Several people wrote to Iqbal to publish his scattered poems in a book form. Iqbal refers here to his intention to do it very soon but actually the first collection of his Urdu poems was published in 1924, about 15 years after this note

"Dedicated to an Indian Lady" most probably refers to Iqbal's intention at this time to dedicate it to Miss Atiyya.

8 In a letter to Hasan Nizami (undated but probably belonging to the year 1908), Iqbal says : "I am being subjected to severe criticism for refusing to accept professorship in Aligarh, but

I am happy at public accusation,
for the birds of love's garden
perch on a branch from which
stones are hurled on them.

See Sh. Ataullah, Ed., op. cit., II, 359. See also Hafiz Malik, op. cit., p. 25, where the editor states that "in 1909 Aligarh Muslim University offered him a professorship in history." He was offered not a professorship of history but of philosophy, and secondly, this offer seems to have been made in 1908 and not in 1909.

Regarding professorship in history of Lahore Government College, he refers in a later letter of 17 July 1909 that "the Lt. Governor of the Punjab was willing to recommend me to the Secretary of State for India" for the vacant post. He refused, as he states in this letter, mainly because of financial considerations.

In the present letter, however, Iqbal gives another reason for his refusal to enter service. The reason : his miserable marital position.

9. Anjuman refers to Anjuman Himayat-i Islam, Lahore, which was founded in 1884 as a result of Sayyid Ahmad Khan's campaign to popularise education among Muslims and to save them from Christian missionary schools. Several schools, a college and an orphanage were managed by the Anjuman.

Iqbal was very actively associated with the Anjuman and for some time functioned as its secretary and later as its president. Iqbal's poetic career in Lahore reached its zenith when he began to recite verses in its annual sessions where scholars, poets and politicians of all India fame used to be present

The first poem that Iqbal recited was "Nala'-i Yatim" (Orphan's Cry) in 1900. In each subsequent session Iqbal read some poem. The "Tasvir-i Dard" (Portrait of Anguish) was perhaps the last, read in 1904, before he left for Europe The last poem that he read in the Anjuman sessions was "Tulu'-i Islam," read in April 1923.

The Secretary of the Anjuman in those days was Haji Shamsuddin, one of the founding members.

10. Iqbal's lecture : "Meaning of Religion as a Factor in the Evolution of Society," was delivered in 1909 under the auspices of Jama'at-i Ahmadiyyah, Lahore (which was not yet split up into two rival groups). As Mirza Jalaluddin relates, this lecture established Iqbal's reputation as an erudite scholar, having deep insight and clear vision (Mahmud Nizami, Ed., *Malfuzat*, p. 62).

11. The lecture which is here mentioned as "Islam As a Moral and Political Ideal" seems to have been delivered under the auspices of the Anjuman Himayat-i Islam, Lahore. It was later published as a pamphlet by Dr S Y. Hashimi, a copy of which is present in the library of Iqbal Academy. It was published later in *Hindustan Review* of July-December 1909 and from there copied in S.A. Vahid, *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, pp 29-55.

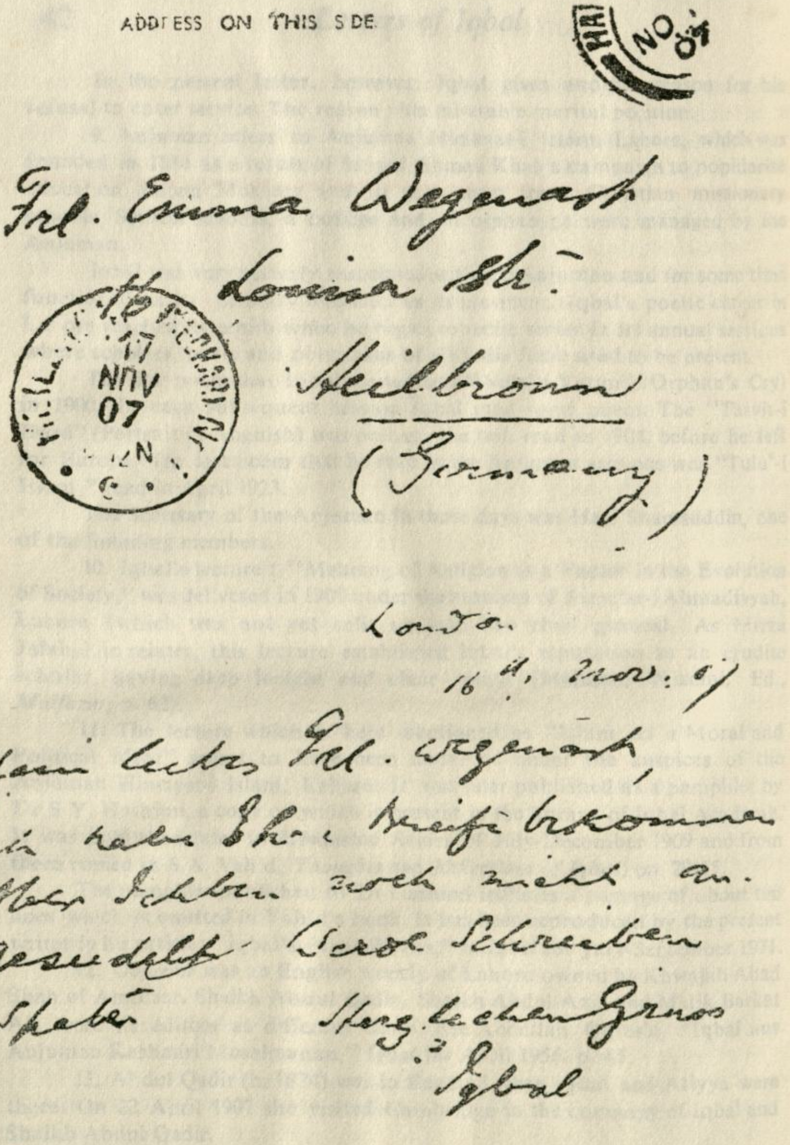
The pamphlet published by Dr Hashimi includes a passage of about ten lines which is omitted in Vahid's book. It has heen reproduced by the present writer in his article: "Iqbal's Prose Works," in *Iqbal* for July-September 1971.

12. *Observer* was an English weekly of Lahore owned by Khwajah Ahad Shah of Amritsar. Shaikh Abdul Qadir, Shaikh Abdul Aziz and Malik Barkat Ali were its editors at different times. See Abdullah Qureshi, "Iqbal aur Anjuman Kashmiri Musalmanan," *Iqbal* for April 1956, p. 45.

13. Abdul Qadir (b. 1874) was in England when Iqbal and Atiyya were there. On 22 April 1907 she visited Cambridge in the company of Iqbal and Shaikh Abdul Qadir.

He started in 1901 the Urdu monthly *Makhzan* which brought him fame. He went to England in 1904 and was called to the Bar. He occupied important political posts and died in 1951.

When Iqbal underwent a new experience in Europe round about 1907,



Facsimile of Iqbal's letter to Miss Wegenast

[facing p. 43]

as a result of which he felt within him an urge to free mankind from the narrow bigoted loyalties of race and countries and call them back to loyalty to God, it was Shaikh Abdul Qadir in whose name he wrote the famous poem that presented in a nutshell his future programme of activities:

Darkness pervades the horizon of the east;
let us illumine it by our fiery eloquence.

Kulliyat-i Iqbal, Urdu, p. 132. For references, see Abdullah Qureshi, *Maktubat-i Iqbal Banam-i Garami*, pp. 107-08; Dr Wahid Ahmad, *Letters of Sir Fazl-i Husain*, appendix.

14. Fraulein Wegenast. She was one of the professors of Iqbal at Heidelberg. Iqbal seemed to be greatly impressed by her wide and deep knowledge of philosophy as well as her charming beauty.

Atiyya Begum records that on 31 August 1907, students and teachers visited the hill overlooking the beautiful Necker Valley which has been immortalised by Iqbal's poem: "One Evening" [*Kulliyat*, p. 128. For its English translation by the late Mr Mumtaz Hasan, see *Muhammad Iqbal, Poet and Philosopher*, a publication of Pakistan-German Forum, Karachi, p. 72. See *Iqbal Review* for April 1969, p. 17.]

On this occasion, a flower dance was arranged, in which Miss Wegenast danced with Iqbal a folk dance.

Iqbal kept up correspondence with Fraulein Wegenast as the present letter attests. He liked her because, as Iqbal states, she was so good and truthful.

Fortunately, Iqbal's letters to her are preserved. I had the opportunity to see their photostats. They were in the possession of Mr Mumtaz Hasan and must now be with his heirs. I am giving here a facsimile of one of these letters from Faqir Wahiduddin's *Iqbal in Pictures*. I am grateful to Mr Rafiuddin Hashmi through whose courtesy I got its copy.

In September 1966, an Iqbal Plaque was placed at the house in Heidelberg where Iqbal stayed during his student days. It was a difficult task to locate this house after more than half a century. An enterprising Pakistani student wrote a letter to a local newspaper. This solved the problem. Miss Sofia Wegenast, in her eighties, came forward with the address. She was the younger sister of Emma Wegenast, Iqbal's professor and friend. The house overlooks the beautiful Neckar. See *Iqbal Review* for April 1969, pp. 12-13.

15. This idea is expressed by Iqbal in the poem: "Journey to Heaven," in *Bang-i Dara* (*Kulliyat-i Iqbal*, Urdu, p. 175). Here I give translation of the first four verses and then of the last five verses:

My imagination accompanied me
on my journey to heaven;
I flew up and up, there were people around
but none that I could know.
The stars surprisingly looked at me
my journey was a mysterious sojourn,

beyond the sphere of morn and night:
beyond this old order.

On this journey the poet comes across a dark place, intensely cold and silent as death.

I asked: what is this place?
The angel's reply was surprising.
This cold place, he said, is hell,
immune from light or fire,
its flames are all borrowed—
a warning to the wise—
people who come here from the earth
bring their embers with them.

16. This letter is dated 17 April, only eight days after the previous letter was written. Here Iqbal mentions again Miss Wegenast's letter. It seems it refers to the letter mentioned in the earlier letter of 9 April 1909. The words of Iqbal: "I shall remind her of the days when you were in Germany—ah! the days which shall never come again," speak so eloquently of his distressed mind in those days.

17. "Two boats, one steamer, two tongas . . ." refer to the fact that Janjira was an island and one had to use all these means to reach it from the mainland.

Haft khawn, seven places between Iran and Turan where the legendary Rustam had to meet with seven perilous adventures as related in Firdausi's *Shah Namah.*

18. It is the last verse of Iqbal's poem: 'Zuhd-u rindi' (Continence and Debauchery) included in the first part of *Bang-i Dara*. See *Kulliyat*, Urdu, pp. 59-60.

19. The poem to which Iqbal refers here (that it will be published in *Makhzan* very soon) is one that is entitled: 'Ashiq-i Harjai (A Moody Beloved), and seems to be erroneously placed in the second part of *Bang-i Dara* which contains poems written in Europe; for, as Iqbal explicitly states here, it was written after 17 July 1909, the date of the present letter.

In the first part of the poem, Iqbal repeats the same charge against himself—being a sum of contradictions—which was earlier expressed in his poem: ' Zuhd aur Rindi" (*Kulliyat*, Urdu pp. 59-60). In the second part, he tries "to give a final answer to such statements" of the people about him. The answer, which he says in this letter is yet to be versified, was written and forms the second part of this poem. I give here its summary.

The heart of the poet is the battle ground of varions experiences, the most intense and deep is the experience of love which has changed him into a limitless expanse of desert. He is constantly in search of new experiences and new visions and therefore his heart is always restive and distressed. His life consists not of successful experience of love but an experience of love that

is deeply enriched with intense agony of failure. His heart calls for a river while the *saqi* can hardly offer him a tiny drop of dew, so he is eternally thirsty.

In the wide expanse of this life
we are eternal seekers ;
like waves of the ocean
we carry our failures with us.

20. This verse belongs to a *ghazal* of *Bang-i Dara*, the last one of Part I composed before 1905.

21. See Appendix for the text of this poem and its English rendering.

22. Lit. Letter of Scolding This letter was written about eight months after the last letter of 7 July 1909 and yet the context shows continuity in matters discussed.

23. In March 1910, Iqbal decided to visit Hyderabad State for reasons which he does not mention clearly in his letter. Even in letters to Maharaja Krishan Parshad we do not find any reason for this visit. Most probably it was connected with some prospect of service in the State. He asked for an introductory letter from Atiyya Begum for Akbar Hydari who was Atiyya's cousin. He took leave for ten days only.

His stay in Hyderabad was with the Hydaries about whom he is all praise. As a memorial to this visit, Iqbal wrote an excellent poem entitled : "Goristan-i Shahi" (Royal Graveyard) included in the third part of *Bang-i Dara* (*Kulliyat*, pp. 149-50). It was published in the *Makhzan* of June 1910 with a note by Shaikh Abdul Qadir, stating that "it is a matchoess poem which compensates Iqbal's long silence." The poem had an introductory note by Iqbal. "One night," says Iqbal, "Mr Hydari took me to see the magnificent but sad tombs of Qutbshahi Kings of the Deccan. Silence of night, overcast sky and the rays of the moon stealing through the clouds, coupled with the sad spectacle of the graves, produced deep effect upon my heart. . . .

"This poem expresses the impressions of that memorable event. I dedicate it to Mr Hydri and his excellent wife who made every possible effort to make my brief stay at Hyderabad as pleasant as possible."

These domes were situated about five miles from Hyderabad city near the famous Golconda Fort which was then the capital of the dynasty. Aurangzeb conquered this territory in 1687. I give below a summary of the poem.

Iqbal describes in brief the scene when he visited the place. The poet looks back at history which records the vicissitudes through which it has passed. His imagination carries him to the period when those kings lived in grandeur and glory. But

Man's life is like a sweet singing bird :
sits awhile on the branch, twitters and flies away.
Ah ! we entered awhile the garden of Time
and then leave the next moment ;
sprouted out of life's twig,

bloomed for a time and withered away.
Death is the end of all, king and beggar alike.

Cultures of Egypt, Babylonia, Persia. Greece, Rome, all came to end and so also the Muslims came, enriched the world culture and then passed away. True, but the poet could not control his grief over the sad fate of the Muslim *millat* and the memory of Muslim kings shall ever remain fresh in his heart.

And yet Iqbal feels confident that, although Muslim people's political role has come to an end and there is no hope of their gaining political supremacy any longer [this was written in 1910], the deeper significance of Islam as a cultural force and its tendency towards right type of humanism shall become ever more manifest and leaven the hard crust of secularism and materialistic interpretation of life. See the present writer's article, "Historical Background of Iqbal's Early Poems," in *Iqbal* for July 1974, p. 54.

During this brief visit, Iqbal had the opportunity to see Maharaja Krishan Parshad, then Prime Minister of Hyderabad State. The Maharaja welcomed him most cordially and arranged a poetic symposium in his honour and introduced him to the gentry of the State. Iqbal wrote a poem entitled: "Shukriyyah" (Thanksgiving) consisting of thirty-nine verses. Its first nine verses are at present included in *Bang-i Dara* under the title "Numud-i Subh" (Morning's Appearance), *Kulliyat-i Urdu*, pp. 153-54. For references see *Makhzan* for June 1910; Abdullah Qureshi, *Makatib i Iqbal Banam-i Garami*, pp. 91-95; Tahsin Sarwari, "Iqbal Ki Do Nazmen aur Unka Siyasi Pas manzar" (Iqbal's Two Poems and Their Political Background) in *Sahifah*, Iqbal Number, I, 61-62; Abdullah Qureshi, "Nawadiri-i Iqbal," in *Sahifah*, Iqbal Number, I, 84-89; S.A. Vahid, "Iqbal aur Hyderabad Deccan," in *Iqbal* for April 1961, pp. 21-3.

24. These words of Iqbal seem to contradict Atiyya Begum's statement that Iqbal approached her for an introduction to Mr and Mrs Hydari, who were her cousins. See Atiyya Begum's book, *Iqbal*, p. 58.

25. Iqbal refers to Sir Thomas Arnold, a great scholar of Islamics, author of the famous *Preaching of Islam*. He was formerly at Aligarh and had intimate contacts with Shibli, both of whom benefitted from each other. Later he came to Government College, Lahore, where Iqbal had the good fortune of being his pupil. It was mostly througn Arnold's effort that Iqbal was appointed Mcleod Arabic Reader in the Oriental College, Lahore, while Sir Thomas was its principal. It was at his advice that Iqbal decided to go to Europe for higher studies. In England, Iqbal often visted Sir Thomas's house and enjoyed their hospitality. See Atiyya, *Iqbal*, pp. 18, 22, 23.

During his stay in England, Iqbal was deeply concerned with the miserable plight of the Muslims of the world. He felt that his indulgence in poetry was a waste of time and that he should give it up for some better work for the welfare of his people. Shaikh Abdul Qadir tried to dissuade him but final decision was left to Sir Thomas. Fortunately he took the side of Abdul Qadir. Thus we owe it to Sir Thomas Arnold that Iqbal continued developing his

poetic talent which he employed for the welfare of Muslim people.

When Sir Thomas left Lahore for good, Iqbal wrote a poem entitled: "Nala-i Firaq" (Cry of Separation) which is included in *Bang-i Dara*, Part I (*Kulliyat*, pp. 7 -88). The poet describes beautifully the pangs of separation and expresses his love for the teacher who was "a *Kaim* of the Mount Sinai of knowledge". To pacify his yearning heart he looks at the picture of the departed teacher but then the memory of magic spell which his brilliant conversation used to weave, comes to mind and the sense of separation heightens which intensifies the already existing yearnings.

26. As far as I know, no poem on Aurangzeb in Urdu was ever written by Iqbal.

27 These four verses belonged to *Asrar-i Khudi* which was first published in 1915. It appears from this letter that Iqbal started writing it about the middle of 1911. But in a letter to Maulana Garami (dated 13 July 1914) Iqbal states that he started writing the *Mathnavi* in 1913. (Abdullah Qureshi, *Makatib-i Iqbal Banam-i Garami*, p. 98). It seems that the *mathnavi* was started definitely in 1911 but Iqbal could not pursue it; it was seriously started in 1913.

These four verses do not appear in the book in the order they are reproduced here. The first is 137th, the second is 129th, the third is 121st according to Nicholson's English translation of *Asrar-i Khudi*, while the fourth is nowhere to be found in the present editions of *Asrar*. The third is a bit different in text from the one in the present edition of *Asrar*. Below we give the English translation of these four verses, the first according to Nicholson :

Create a new style for your song,
enrich the assembly with your piercing strains.
You are fire : fill the world with your glow ;
make others burn with your burning.
Make your breast a storehouse of a hundred sighs,
make the hearts of men bleed with your tears.
Turn your back on the tumult of the world,
strike a wave out of this river.

28. Umrao Singh was an intimate friend of Iqbal. He was for some time editor of the English monthly *East & West*. Nawab Dhu'lfiqar's book on Iqbal, *The Voice from the East*, contained Iqbal's verses translated into English by Umrao Singh. He was a great landlord of the Punjab. When Iqbal went to Paris, after his return journey from the Round Table Conference, it was Umrao Singh who arranged a meeting of Iqbal with Bergson. See Abdullah Qureshi, "Nawadir-i Iqbal," in *Sahifah*, Iqbal Number, I, 119 ; Rafiq Afdal, *Guftar-i Iqbal*, p. 262.

Princess Dalip Singh was the granddaughter of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. She had married Col. Southerland, principal of King Edward Medical College, Lahore. She was a great admirer of Iqbal. Abdullah Qureshi,

Makatib-i Iqbal Banam-i Garami, pp. 171-2; idem, "Nawadir-i Iqbal," in *Sahifah*, Iqbal Number, I, 145-46

The verses referred to here are in *Bang-i Dara* under the title: "On Receiving a Gift of a Flower", *Kulliyat*, p. 158. For its English translation, see Kiernan, *Poems from Iqbal*, p. 14.

29. Mrs Naidu, born in Hyderabad State in 1879. She published three volumes of English poetry. She was the first woman president of the Indian National Congress in 1925. She was governor of Uttar Pradesh, India, till her death in 1949.

Miss Atiyya was wrong in thinking that Mrs Naidu could not appreciate Urdu poetry. With his letter of 14 December 1911, Iqbal sends his Urdu poem entitled: "Nawa-i Gham" (Song of Sorrow). After it, Iqbal tells Atiyya Begum to give his greetings to Mrs Naidu and show her these verses: "I had promised her that Atiyya would show her specimen of my latest Urdu poetry." This note proves that she appreciated Urdu poetry.

The poem "Nawa-i Gham" was written, as is evident from this letter, in about 1911, i.e. about three years after Iqbal's retura from Europe. But it is included in Part II of *Bang-i Dara*, p. 132.

30. Out of about a dozen letters of Iqbal to Atiyya, this is the first where he refers to a subject of general interest. All others deal strictly with matters of personal interest. It seems Iqbal was able to overcome his sense of frustration which seemed to overwhelm him during the early years of his return. For full two or three years, he remained totally bound within the shell of his inner self which however began to burst in *the early monts of 1910* when he visited Hyderabad.

In April 1911, he read the famous *Shikwah* (Complaint) in which the poet took stock of the grim position of the Muslims in the world. His inner despondency was transferred to a wider circle, and becoming universal lost its thrust.

There are certain letters of Iqbal written in October and November of 1911 addressed to Akbar Allahabadi. In the first letter dated 6 October, besides expressing anxiety for the Muslim world, he says: "Lahore is a big city but I feel lonely in this crowd. There is not a single person before whom I can unburden my soul. . . . Lord Bacon has well said: The larger the city the greater the sense of loneliness. This is my state in Lahore. Besides, some events [personal, perhaps] in the last month were the cause of my distress. . . ." In the letter of 9 November, he says: "In the city of Lahore I have no friend; people are fond of show and hypocrisy. . . ." (Sh. Ataullah, Ed., op. cit., II, 35, 38).

In the present letter, Iqbal refers to one of the most crucial events in the political history of the Muslims of the sub-continent. The British, to serve their imperial interests, divided Bengal. This division was beneficial to the Muslims who therefore welcomed it. It was against the economic interests of the Hindus who therefore resisted it violently. The country was plunged into

waves of violence. The British, in 1911, revoked the division which shocked the Muslims. Iqbal has expressed his displeasure in these two verses. The political policy of the Muslims henceforth began to change its pro-British complexion.

It is the last letter of the series as it appeared in the book published by Atiyya Begum in 1947. It is most probable that correspondence went on but unfortunately most of it seems to have been lost.

31. This is a letter which shows that correspondence did continue. Regarding the Palestine problem, see different statements of Iqbal as contained in S A. Vahid's *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*. *Mufti* refers to Mufti Amin al-Husaini, who was Head of Rabita-i Alam-i Islami till his death. The Mufti visited India and Pakistan severai times to win support for the cause of Palestinian refugees.

32. This possibility was regarding his intention to deliver Rhodes Lecture on the concept of Space and Time in Muslim Thought. Due to his failing health, he could not undertake the journey.

APPENDICES

(I)

As related by Atiyya Begum, Iqbal sent to her several poems, sometime along with his letters while at other times he sent only poems. Once when their Highnesses the Nawab and Begum of Janjira were in England, Iqbal wrote the following poem in Her Highnesses's album. At the end of the poem, Iqbal wrote on the left hand corner: Cadgan Hotel, 75 Sloam Street, London. It was dated 9 June 1906 and signed by Iqbal in Urdu. The text of the poem is given here:

اے کہ تیرے آستانے پر جبیں گستر قمر
اور فیض آستاں بوسی سے گل برسر قمر
روشنی لے کر تری موج غبارِ راہ سے
دیتا ہے لیلائے شب کو نور کی چادر قمر
کاروانِ قوم کو ہے تجھ سے زینت اس طرح
جس طرح گردوں پہ صدرِ محفلِ اختر قمر
شمعِ بزمِ اہلِ ملت را چراغِ طور کن
یعنی ظلمت خانۂ ما را سراپا نور کن

[The moon rubs its forehead on your threshold
and is thus graced with a flower on its head.
Through light taken from the waves of your path's dust
the moon illumines night's darkness.
You so adorn the nation's caravan
as the moon presides over the stars in the sky.
Transform *millat's* candle into Sinai's lamp ;
illumine all the dark niches of our house.]

There is another poem which Iqbal sent to Atiyya Begum from Munich when she had returned to India:

جستجو جس گل کی تڑپاتی تھی اے بلبل مجھے
خوبیٔ قسمت سے آخر مل گیا وہ گل مجھے
خود تڑپتا تھا، چمن والوں کو تڑپاتا تھا میں
تجھ کو جب رنگیں نوا پاتا تھا، شرماتا تھا میں
میرے پہلو میں دلِ مضطر نہ تھا، سیاب تھا
ارتکابِ جرمِ الفت کے لیے بیتاب تھا
نامرادی محفلِ گل میں مری مشہور تھی
صبح میری آئینہ دارِ شبِ دیجور تھی

از نفس در سینۂ خوں گشتہ نشتر داشتم
زیرِ خاموشی نہاں غوغائے محشر داشتم

اب تاثر کے جہاں میں وہ پریشانی نہیں
اہلِ گلشن پر گراں میری غزل خوانی نہیں
عشق کے کانٹے سے لالے بن گئے چھالے مرے
کھیلتے ہیں بجلیوں کے ساتھ اب نالے مرے
غازۂ الفت سے یہ خاکِ سیہ آئینہ ہے
اور آئینے میں عکسِ ہمدمِ دیرینہ ہے
قید میں آیا تو حاصل مجھ کو آزادی ہوئی
دل کے لٹ جانے سے میرے گھر کی آبادی ہوئی
ضو سے اس خورشید کے اختر میرا تابندہ ہے
چاندنی جس کے غبارِ راہ سے شرمندہ ہے

یک نظر کردی و آدابِ فنا آموختی
اے خنک روزے کہ خاشاکِ مرا وا سوختی

دور افتادہ اقبال

میونک (جرمنی)

[O nightingale, there was a time of excitement when
I was busy searching for the beloved,
By good fortune, I got her after all.
I was all aflame and kept others excited;
when I heard your sweet notes, I felt shy.
There was in my breast not diffidence but quick-silver,
ever ready to commit sin of love.
My misfortune was well known in the assembly of flowers,
my mornings were as dark as nights.
My breath was a blood-stained lancet in my breast;
under the guise of silence, there was tumult of resurrection.

But no longer is there in my heart any diffidence,
my *ghazal*-reading is no longer boring to the people.
My blisters have gone red through love's thorns,
my bewailings play now with lightning.
Love's rouge has changed dark clay into mirror
and in the mirror I find my beloved's reflection.
I became free when I was imprisoned (by love),
I prospered when my heart was robbed.
The light of the sun has illumined my star—
the dust of whose path outshines the moonlight.
You cast a glance and taught me the ways of annihilation,
lucky the day when you burnt my ashes !]

(II)

The following three poems were sent by Iqbal along with his letter dated 14 December 1911 :

1. SONG OF SORROW[1]

My life is like a silent rebeck
whose body enshrines all kinds of melodies.
The cosmic harp is envious of its silence,
whose each string entombs hundreds of songs ;
whose silence is repositary of an assembly of notes,
and doesn't need a show for self-manifestation.
Ah ! love's hope was never fulfilled ;
this musical instrument could never experience the
plectrum's stroke.
Sometimes, however, breeze comes from Sinai's garden,
sometimes wafts of Houri's breath come from heaven ;
they lightly touch my life's strings,
and release life's imprisoned soul ;
song of despondency rises a little silently :
it is a call to the caravan of tears.
As the destiny of dew lies in the flight,
my nature finds its fulfilment in songs of sorrow.

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1. For the text of the poem see *Bang-i-Dara*, p. 132. It contains a note in Urdu in Iqbal's hand : "Please convey my greetings to Mrs Naidu and show her these verses. I had promised her that Miss Atiyya would show them to her."

2. INVOCATION[2]

O Lord ! bestow a live wish on the Muslim's heart
that may warm the heart and stir the soul :
illumine once again every atom of Faran's valley,
give back delight of sight and zeal for desire ;
give penetrating vision to those deprived of sight,
show to others whatever I have seen ;
create once again tumult of resurrection in the desolate heart,
let this empty litter have the beautiful bride once again ;
guide the errant deer again towards the Sanctuary,
familiarise this city-oriented person with desert's expanse :
give to this desert traveller that foot blister
whose fiery nature may burn the thorns ;
give to its ideals loftiness of the Plieades,
self-respect of the shore, freedom of the river ;
in the darkness of the present times, give to every
desperate heart
a mark of love that outshines the moon in brilliance ;
I am the bewailing nightingale of a desolute garden—
beseeching for effectiveness (of my prayers) and hoping
for fulfilment.

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2. For the text of the poem see *Bang-i Dara*, pp. 237-38. There are only nine verses in the letter but the text in *Bang-i Dara* has ten verses. The sixth verse of the poem is omitted from the book and in its place two new verses are added.

The poem is signed in Urdu and bears the date of the letter, i.e. 14th December 1911.

3. MORNING APPEARS[3]

When from the east, morning makes its tumultuous
appearance,
silence exits from existence's stage.
Stillness of Nature's assembly breaks down,
everything gives proof of its bursting life.
The birds, on receiving life's message, begin to twitter,
even flowers put on life's robe in the garden.
O indolent Muslim, get up, be active ;
see, there morning appears ; astir yourself for day's battle ;
traverse this earthly planet like the sun
that the cloud's blot disappear from sky's skirt.
Draw the ray's sword and plunge into the battle,
teach falsehood's darkness once again to fly away.
You are all light ; nakedness sits well on you ;
be naked and then take to self-manifestation ;
be manifest and give light to bat's eyes :
you are the hidden secret of the universe's heart ; stand
revealed.

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3. For the text of the poem, see *Bang-i Dara*, 236-37. On comparison we find very few changes. In the book, its title is "Nawaid-i-Subh" (Morning's Tidings) and is dated 1912. In Atiyya's book, the poem is signed by Iqbal in Urdu with a note: "These verses were written yester morning," i.e. 31 December 1911.

(2)

Letters

to

Sir Fazl-i Husain

INTRODUCTION

Sir Fazl-i Husain was born in Peshawar, educated at Gurdaspur and later at the Government College, Lahore He went to England to take Civil Service examination but failed twice. In 1901 he was called to the Bar. On return he started practice at Sialkot, but in 1905 moved to Lahore. He was Fellow and Syndic of the University of the Punjab and was elected to the Legislative Council from the University constituency. He started his political career by joining the Indian National Congress and for sometime was the president of the Punjab Congress.

But when the new reforms were introduced by the British in 1919, Fazl-i Husain was roped in by the Government. He was selected by the Punjab Governor as Education Minister which post he held till 1923. In view of the strange complexion of Punjab politics, where Muslim representation in the Legislature was not in proportion to their population, and therefore they could not run any government without the cooperation of non-Muslims, Fazl-i Husain decided to found a non-communal Unionist Party with the cooperation of Hindu rural group Thus he succeeded in becoming minister in the Punjab for the next four years. This unfortunately led to the invidious division among Muslims, of agriculturists and non-agriculturists, which divided the Muslims and weakened their political power.

Fazl-i Husain and Iqbal were class-fellows and were on very intimate terms. When Fazl-i Husain's father died, Iqbal wrote a very moving poem: "Nawa-i Gham" (Song of Sorrow). Iqbal, however, disliked his politics in the Punjab, which hindered the growth of true leadership among Muslims from the middle class, a situation which we have not been able to overcome till now. Ashiq Batalvi's book, *Iqbal Kay Akhiri Do Sal*, chapter seven, clearly reveals how Fazl-i Husain betrayed the cause of Punjab Muslims for the sake of his personal ambitions. See S.A. Vahid, *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, pp. 254-255.

The few letters which are reproduced here from Dr Waheed Ahmad's *Letters of Mian Fazl-i Husain* (Research Society of Pakistan, Lahore, June 1976) through the courtesy of Dr M. Jahangir Khan, cover a period which was very critical in the history of Muslims of the South-Asian subcontinent.

Iqbal became a member of the Punjab Legislative Council in 1926 and henceforth he was very actively associated with the political life of the country. This was the period when (*i*) conflicting aspirations of Hindus and Muslims led to a state of civil war; (*ii*) several attempts were made to settle the communal problem in which, almost every time, initiative was taken by the Muslims with no positive response from the Hindus; (*iii*) Round Table Conferences were held and events gradually led to the enactment of Government of India Act of 1935.

(1)

Lahore
13th June 1927

My dear Sir Fazli,

Thanks for your letter which I received yesterday. The remark in my interview was based on the statements which appeared in the *Inqilab*, *Zamindar* and the *Outlook* of 17th, 18th, and 19th May 1927. I enclose the necessary cuttings from these papers. I hope you will read them carefully—especially those marked A, B, and BC and the lines underlined by me.[1] It is necessary to add that these statements have not been contradicted by any Government officer up to the present moment. If you permit, I should be glad to send your letter to the press with my comments on it.

As to what is happening in Lahore, I wish you had been here to see things with your own eyes. It is sufficient to break one's heart and to shake one's faith in the impartiality of the State. I am collecting the necessary material which may one day be placed before the British Public. For the present we are discussing the idea of getting a hearing from the Governor.[2] I can tell you of the latest incident in Gowal Mandi which is only short distance from my place. Three Muslims came to me yesterday afternoon when I was arranging the enclosed cuttings for you and reported in the presence of three gentlemen that a Muslim had been injured by a brick thrown from the top of a house and the Police were overawing him into making a different statement as to the house from which it had fallen. The D.C. reached the spot about the

evening and I hope things are allright there. It is now perfectly clear that it is part of the Hindu programme to overawe Muslims by physical force, and thus to bring about a state of civil war in the country. It is a very serious situation; I hope the Government realises it fully.

Thanking you

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(2)

Introductory Note

The history of communal problem in the sub-continent is very intriguing. The Lucknow Pact of 1916 was the only agreement to which the two parties agreed, though in the main it worked against the interest of the Muslims of the majority provinces, Punjab and Bengal. After the failure of the Khilafat movement, which gave truly national complexion to the freedom movement, the country witnessed a series of horrible communal riots in all parts of the land, engineered, as Iqbal says, to overawe the Muslims so that they could not take full advantage of their political position in the country.

The first important move was what came to be known as Dehli Muslim Proposals, which were the outcome of the deliberations of Muslim leaders in Dehli on 20 March 1927, under the leadership of Jinnah. In these proposals, the representation in the Punjab and Bengal was to be in proportion to their population; Muslims agreed under certain conditions to accept joint electorates. But Muslims of the Punjab, under the guidance of Sir Muhammad Shafi and Sir Fazl-i Husain, with the assent of Iqbal, could not agree to accept joint electorates at any cost.

In November 1927, a Royal Commission under Sir John Simon was announced to consider and propose constitutional reforms. The Hindus boycotted the Commission only physically but prepared Nehru Report (22 December 1928) which was in reality their view on constitutional reform. The Muslims totally rejected the Nehru Report scheme, because it envisaged a unitary form of government, and because the sponsors refused to accept

any amendments suggested by the Muslims.

The Muslims, under the guidance of Fazl-i Husain and with the financial support of the late Agha Khan, organised an All-Parties Muslim Conference. Three well-known and well-organised parties were represented in the Conference: the Central Khilafat Committee; the Jami'at al-'Ulama-i Hind and the Muslim League (Lahore section) which included Iqbal. This conference was "created to deal with a special crisis in the affairs of Muslim India. . . . It was a reaction, on the one hand, to the threat posed by the Nehru Report, and, on the other, to the perils of Muslim disunity. . . . Its task was . . . to speak with one voice and to save the Muslims of India from Hindu communal ambitions and British indifference and ignorance" (K. K. Aziz, *The All-India Muslim Conference*, 1972, pp. 14-15).

The Resolutions that it passed stipulated that

(*i*) the only form of Government suitable to Indian conditions is a federal system with complete autonomy and residuary powers vested in the constituent states;

(*ii*) the right of Muslims to elect their representatives on the various Indian legislatures through separate electorates;

(*iii*) Muslim majority in the provinces where Muslims constitute majority of population shall in no way be affected. (Ibid., pp. 53-54).

Jinnah's famous "Fourteen Points" included these provisions. But unfortunately nothing tangible came out of all these efforts.

In December 1930, Iqbal had put forward in his Presidential Address to the annual session of the Muslim League at Allahabad, his proposal to form a single consolidated Muslim area in the North-West of India.

The Nawab of Bhopal, the late Hamidullah Khan, tried to solve the communal problem (10 May 1931). The problem then revolved round whether electorate be joint or separate. One section of Muslims wanted to accept joint electorates under certain conditions. Nawab Sahib invited Muslims of both groups. Several formulas were evolved. It was resolved that the next meeting be held on 1 June. Meanwhile the formula could be discussed by the parties concerned.

Iqbal participated in this initial meeting. The letter seems to contain the proposals arrived at in the meeting.

Ashiq Batalvi, *Iqbal Kay Akhari Do Sal*, pp. 235-281 ; S. Sharifuddin Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, I, lxi-lxvii ; Muhammad Ahmad Khan, *Iqbal Ka Sayasi Karnamah*, pp. 93-138 ; K.K. Aziz, *The All-India Muslim Conference*, pp. 1-15, 53-56 ; Rafiq Afdal, *Guftar-i Iqbal*, pp. 118-21 ; Nadhir Niazi, *Maktubat-i Iqbal*, p. 68.

Lahore
14th May 1931

My dear Fazli,

I returned only this morning.

Which do you think of the following proposals ?

1. Joint Electorates to be introduced at the end of 10 years with adult suffrage, provided that if the majority of Muslim members of any legislature, Federal or Provincial, agree to accept Joint Electorates at any time before the expiry of 10 years. Separate Electorates will be abolished qua such legislature.
2. First election under the new constitution to be on the basis of Separate Electorates at the beginning of the 5th year of the first legislature.

Please drop a line as early as possible.[3]

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

PS : I should have come to Simla, but am not feeling well. We had to be up till after midnight almost every night.

(3)

Introductory Note

During the Second Round Table Conference, several attempts were made to settle the communal problem but due to the strategy of Gandhi nothing came out of it. Iqbal had explained this position in his Presidential Address to the Muslim Conference in Lahore on 21 March 1932 (see K.K. Aziz, op. cit., pp. 86-88) and in his Statement of 6 December 1933 (see S. A. Vahid, *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, pp. 363-65). But the minorities succeeded in arriving at a Minorities' Pact on 1 November 1931 which was handed over to the British Prime Minister on the next day. The Sikhs, however, did not participate in these discussions nor did they sign the Pact.

Irritated by this, combined with total failure in arriving at any settlement acceptable to them, the Hindu leaders decided to appeal to the British Prime Minister—who was looked upon by the Congressites as one of them—to arbitrate in the matter.

The Sikhs were in reality a part of Hindu society and culturally they were one group. But the imperial interests of the British made the Sikhs a distinct community. Sir Fazl-i Husain played a leading role here. It was he who initiated the Gurdwara Bill which helped the Sikh community in organising themselves and this power they invariably used against the Muslims. See Sayyid Nazir Niazi, *Iqbal Kai Hudur*, pp. 280-81, also notes on p. 281, No. 1, 2, 3; pp. 123, 136-37, etc.

The Sikhs posed a great problem towards the solution of the communal tangle in the Punjab. The Muslims demanded

statutory majority; but if the Sikhs and Hindus were to get weightage as given to other minorities in other provinces, the Muslims were reduced to a minority. To solve this triangular problem, several attempts were made during the latter half of 1932. Iqbal's Statement on 25 July 1932 gives the real picture. "It is unfortunate," he says, "that the consequences of the purely negative attitude of the Sikhs in opposing the Muslim right of majority representation in the Punjab are not fully realised. The Sikh attitude in the Punjab, encouraged, as it is, by the Hindus, is producing its natural reaction in making Muslims and other minorities seriously apprehensive of dominance by a communal majority. . . ."

Sardar Joginder Singh, a Taluqdar, who was for some time Prime Minister of Patiala State, offered some proposals. Iqbal issued a statement on 4 August 1932 rejecting them because "while they were apparently intended to concede to Muslims a majority of one in the total House, they would actually reduce Muslims to an equality with non-Muslims and most probably to minority." Iqbal added that "no communal settlement . . . can be acceptable to Muslims unless it provides for 51% seats for Muslims in the provincial legislature as agreed to in the Minorities' Pact."

It was feared that these talks, initiated by the Sikhs, were meant to delay the announcement of the British Prime Minister regarding the communal problem, therefore the Working Committee of the Muslim Conference passed a resolution on 7 August 1932 at New Dehli that these conversations being held at Simla should be postponed. See K.K. Aziz, op. cit., p. 111.

The long-awaited declaration by the British Prime Minister was announced on 19 August 1932. It met many of the Muslim demands but it did not give the right of statutory majority by separate electorates to the Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal. In Bengal weightage was given to the Europeans and Anglo-Indians and thus slender Muslim majority was reduced to minority. Similarly in the Punjab, weightage to Hindus and Sikhs affected Muslim majority very adversely.

Lahore
1st May 1933

My dear Fazli,

Thank you so much for your letter which arrived a minute ago. It has brought me great relief. I wired to you because the Associated Press telegram report[4] many people and all sorts of inquiries were made and mischief done. A Sikh leader Tara Singh has already declared the formula[5] to be a kind of suicide for Sikhs if they accept it. The *Tribune* has also virtually opposed it. I thank you again for your prompt reply.

Hoping you are well.

Yours sincerely,
Muhammad Iqbal

(4)

Introductory Note

It seems that differences in political views between Iqbal and Fazl-i Husain had grown in dimension. The latter was in the Viceroy's Executive Council during 1930-35. It was he who had planned and organised the Muslim Conference with the moral and financial support of the Agha Khan. This Conference performed a vital role during a very crucial period in the history of the Muslims in this land. But there are many aspects of Fazl-i Husain's policies which, in Iqbal's view, did great harm to the cause of Muslims but which Fazl-i Husain pursued, partly to satisfy his personal ambitions, and partly under orders from the British Government. We have referred to some of these in earlier notes to the letters.

In view of the changed circumstances arising out of the new constitutional reforms to be introduced in the near future, political leaders were planning to meet this situation. Fazl-i Husain was trying to revitalise the Unionist Party which, according to Iqbal, stood for "the narrow visioned sacrifice of Islamic solidarity" and reduced Muslim majority in the Punjab to a minority. (See Iqbal's famous Presidential Address to the Muslim Leagure in S.A. Vahid, op. cit., 184). Iqbal therefore decided to bend all his energies to the revival of the Muslim League. He tried to bring pressure upon Jinnah, who had decided to settle in England foı the rest of his life, to return and lead the Muslims. After mature consideration, Jinnah decided to come back. He returned in 1934. Like a true politician, Fazl-i Husain must have planned to stage a new melo-

drama, with the help of the late Agha Khan—he was hoping to neutralise Jinnah as he had succeeded before in establishing the Muslim Conference. But Iqbal was so much disgusted with the political game of the Unionist Party in the Punjab, that he decided not to fall in this trap. He therefore refused to attend these parleys to which he was invited by Fazl-i Husain.

The first three letters in this series were addressed by Iqbal as: My dear Fazli, a symbol of endearment but the present letter is addressed as: My dear Sir Fazl-i Husain, which is very formal and reveals estrangement and coldness in relationship.

Lahore
31st January 1934

My dear Sir Fazl-i-Husain,

Thanks for your kind letter which I received a moment ago. I am sorry to say that it will not be possible for me to come and meet you and His Highness the Agha Khan. My present circumstances and past experience have seriously affected my outlook. I do hope you will excuse my absence from the proposed consultations at Dehli. To the same effect I have written to M. Shafi Daudi[6] whose letter reached me along with yours.

The motto is excellent; but it is almost impossible to give the same terseness to the Urdu translation. I suggest a similar thought in Persian:

رشتهٔ در گردنم افگنده دوست
می برد ہر جا کہ خاطر خواہ اوست

Yours sincerely,
Muhammad Iqbal

NOTES

1. Most probably this refers to the news report which appeared in the daily *Inqilab* of 17 May 1927, according to which the investigation staff appointed by the Government to look into the causes of Lahore riots, was composed of a majority of non-Muslim officers from whom it was impossible to expect a truthful and just report.

There were two other reports in the same paper. In both cases, the Hindus of a particular place had protested against the operation of Joint Electorates for, as they alleged, it went against their interests. Statements marked B and BC might be these two reports.

2. In the second paragraph, Iqbal refers to communal riots that broke out in Kabuli Mal Haveli area of Lahore which is predominantly a Muslim locality but it is situated near the Sikh Bawli, adjacent to the Golden Mosque. The Sikhs who could easily become the tool of Hindu aggrandizement, took the initiative and attacked the Muslims. Regarding its details, see Iqbal's interview with the daily *Tribune*, Lahore, of 12 May 1927. See also *Inqilab* of the same date. Rafiq Afdal, *Guftar-i Iqbal*, pp. 28-33 ; S.A. Vahid, *Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*, pp. 316-18, on adjournment motion in the Punjab Assembly on 18 July 1927, regarding these riots.

3. On 12 May 1931, Iqbal along with Sir Muhammad Shafi, Maulana Shaukat Ali and Tasadduq Ali Khan Shirwani issued a statement:

"We assembled in Bhopal on 10 May informally in order to attempt to resolve differences between two groups of Muslims. Our object is to help solve the basic Hindu-Muslim problem . . . . During discussions, it was felt that both parties were interested to arrive at a decision which may promote Muslim unity so that they may participate effectively in the political progress of the country."

On 13 May 1931 (in the company of Nawab Muhammad Ismail Khan) Iqbal passed through Dehli on his way back from Bhopal. On the Dehli railway station, in an interview with the *Statesman*, Iqbal explained his position as well as that of his colleagues. He stated that it was not true that "we two and Maulana Shaukat Ali and Sir Shafi stood together on separate electorates and Dr Ansari and Tasadduq Shirwani were adamant on joint electorates. We all supported Dehli Resolutions (of the Muslim Conference). . . . When we faced facts we discovered that there was very little difference between our stand-points . . . ."

On 15 May 1931, Iqbal issued a statement on Bhopal Conference : "A report from Simla by the Associated Press states that Dr. Ansari and Mr.

Shuaib Qureshi, on reaching Simla, ran to Gandhiji's house and informed him that the members of the Bhopal Conference have arrived at some temporary agreement and that the formula arrived at is a via media between separate and joint electorates which shall be in force for 10 years and after that period there would be joint electorates everywhere.

"I must state that the discussions of Bhopal Conference can in no way be called an agreement, temporary or otherwise. What actually happened is this: some proposals were put forward to bring the so-called Nationalist Muslims as near to the decisions of the Muslim Conference as possible, so that they could enter the fold of Muslim community which has given its final decision with regard to separate electorates. . . ." See Rafiq Afdal, *Guftar-i-Iqbal*, pp. 118-121.

There are two letters of Fazl-i Husain to Iqbal which throw light on the historical background of the problems discussed in these letters of Iqbal and Fazl-i Husain. These two letters are given as Appendices 1 and 2 at the end of this section.

4. Regarding Associated Press telegram and other relevant matters regarding Sikh-Muslim discussions, the two letters of Mian Fazl-i Husain addressed to Iqbal throw great light. These two letters are given as Appendices 3 and 4 at the end of this section.

5. The formula referred to here is :

It is hereby agreed :

(*i*) that the franchise qualifications of the three communities, the Muslims, the Hindus and the Siks, be so modified as to reflect the population of each community in the voting register;

(*ii*) that the electorates be joint;

(*iii*) that so far as the Punjab Legislative Council is concerned, the 161 general seats alloted in the Premier's Award to the Muslims, the Hindus and the Sikhs (as distinct from and exclusive of the ten special seats and also of the four seats allotted to the European, Anglo-Indian and Indian Christian communities) shall be distributed among 161 single member constituencies as proposed by the Reforms Commissioner of the Punjab.

It is also agreed that the safeguards devised for minority communities in other provinces would apply to minority communities in the Punjab also.

It is agreed that each clause of the above clauses is an essential part of the agreement. Dr. Waheed Ahmad, Ed., *Letters of Mian Fazl-i Husain*, Lahore, Research Society of Pakistan, June 1976, pp. 259-60.

6. Maulvi Shafi Daudi (b. 1879) was a Vakil of Patna High Court. He was a member of the Central Legislative Assembly then.

APPENDICES

(1)

The Retreat, Simla.
30th April 1931

My dear Iqbal,

Yours of 28th. instant.[1]

I apprehended something of this sort and warned you about currents and cross-currents of intrigue and counter-intrigue and cross-intrigue. However, we are determined to stand against all intrigues. Our cause is just and righteous, and we must fight and fight hard. Assistance will come from above and our cause shall prevail. I have great faith in the righteousness of our cause and feel that in spite of all intrigues directed against it and all money that is being spent against us, circumstances will be so moulded by Providence that we will succeed.

As regards proposals to hold Conferences of Muslims of various schools of thought, I am in agreement with you that it is altogether un-necessary to hold such Conferences for the following reasons:

(1) The All-Parties Muslim Conference at Dehli is such a Conference, and we should not recognise any other, nor should we bring into being a new Institution. If further consultation is necessary, the All-Parties Muslim Conference will be the authority to convene such an one.

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1. We could not trace Iqbal's letter to Fazl-i Husain, dated 28th April.

(2) As a matter of fact, there is no difference of opinion amongst Muslims on the main political problems of the day. The Shia Conference at Montgomery and the Muslim Nationalist Conference at Lucknow, I understand, passed practically the very resolutions that were passed by the All-Parties Conference at Dehli and the All-India Muslim League at Dehli a few weeks ago. The difference is as to mode of election, but that difference is only on the assumption that there is adult franchise. In case there is no adult franchise, all Muslims agree that separate electorates must continue. Various schools of political thought in India consider adult franchise as the ideal to be aimed at but at this stage of political development feel that there must be property qualification. Under the circumstances, the so-called difference of opinion is altogether theoretical and unreal. The Round Table Conference has already arrived at the provisional conclusion that the property qualification should exist. Therefore, it is nothing short of hypocricy to say that the Muslims between themselves are not agreed as to the mode of election. The fact that the Luknow Conference insisted upon adult franchise shows that in the absence of adult franchise they realise that joint electorates are out of question.

I trust you will give the above-mentioned points to Messrs. Mehr and Salik[2] to develop and make the political world understand. If you can manage to give these to Malik Abdul Majid[3] of the *Muslim Outlook*, he might be able to do some useful work in this connection.

To revert to the first part of my letter—I have not yet made up my mind and if possible during the course of May, will try if you and others in Simla can discuss this important question of

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2. Messers. Mehr and Salik refer to the late Ghulam Rusul Mehr, the learned scholar and editor of *Inqilab*. Abdul Majid Salik was co-edititor of *Inqilab*.

3. Malik Abdu'l Majid, sometime editor of *Muslim Outlook*, an English daily of Lahore. He was later Principal Information Officer, Government of Pakistan. He originally belonged to Lahore but on retirement he settled in Karachi. He died only recently.

policy, but I feel like Indian Muslims taking up an absolutely independent line and even in these days of financial stringency, taking steps to fight Islam's battle rather than depend upon the help of princes or Government. If this can be done, truly representative government may be established throughout India.

Yours sincerely
Fazl-i-Hussain

(2)

Simla
30th May 1931

Dear Iqbal,

I had expected you to come to Simla and had asked Firoze to bring you with him. You must really become more and more active every day.

I think you did very well in the Working Committee meeting[1], and trust this will enable you to patch up a sort of reconciliation between Congress Muslims and other Muslims. In fact, I see from the papers that just as Gandhi asked Muslims to come to him united, so the idea is spreading in England that Indians—Hindus and Muslims—should come to England united. This will give the right formula to His Highness the Nawab Sahib to present to Gandhi, and on the basis of it, to settle first the matter of the six minority provinces—Madras, U.P., C.P., Bihar and Orissa and Assam, weightage being allowed in the case of the first 4 provinces is not objected to by the vast majority of Hindus of these provinces and in the case of Assam there is no weightage to speak of. This will leave Bombay, Bengal and the Punjab. I have not included Bombay in the above-mentioned list because of the possible

1. He refers to the Working Committee of the Muslim Conference held in Lahore on 25 May 1931. See K.K. Aziz, op. cit., pp. 75-78.

It would be very instructive and illuminating to read Muslim Conference Secretary's Statement on these protracted negotiations, issued on 23 June 1931 from Simla. See ibid.

separation of Sind; and the matter of Bengal and the Punjab is a bit controversial and can be settled when the matter of the first 5 mentioned provinces has been finished. As a matter of fact, that can be followed up by a similar statement in the case of the Frontier province. When this is done, we should try to come to a settlement about Bengal, and lastly about the Punjab. Anyhow, we should stand firm, for therein lies secret of sucess.

You wiil be surpised to see this cutting from Hamdam. How anxious people are to create mischief.

Your most sincerely
Fazl-i-Husain

(3)

The Retreat, Simla
29th April 1933

My dear Iqbal,

Your telegram: "Associated Press telegram. Please wire whether you agree to joint electorates. Whatever the scheme, it must be placed before Muslim community for discussion and decision."

I have just now sent you a reply by telegram. As I have not seen the Associated Press telegram, how can I say whether I agree to joint electorates or not? As things stand, you know perfectly well that I am definitely against joint electorates, but it does not mean that in the Punjab under no circumstances can I be for joint electorates. When I was in Lahore, I had asked Firoz[1] to request some friends, specially those who had expressed themselves against joint electorates in any form at the Muslim League meeting and in *Muslim Outlook* and *Inqilab*, to meet and discuss. You were not able to come but we had a good discussion. Discussion in such matters must necessarily be conducted by a few at their early stage and when something tangible results from those discussions, it must be placed before the public for discussion and decision.

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1. Feroz Khan Noon, one of the proteges of Fazl-i Husain, a great landlord of the Punjab and a member of the Unionist Party.

He was for some time Minister of Education in the Punjab. Later on he joined the Muslim League and was the last Prime Minister of Pakistan when Martial Law was imposed in 1958 by the late Ayyub Khan.

The position at present is this that our friend Sir Jogindra Singh alleges that a large majority of Hindus and Sikhs are prepared to support the statement which I have marked : 'Sir Jogindra Singh's draft'. Para 3 of this note is not quite clear, and it is best in such matters that no ambiguities should be left. So an examination of this draft is contained in the second typed paper. You will, therefore, see that as yet there is no final scheme on which it can be said that even those who are conducting talks have arrived at a final decision. As soon as it is ready, it should be discussed by the Muslim Conference, the Muslim press, just the same way as it should be discussed by Hindu and Sikh organizations.

I have noticed that in this matter a certain amount of mischief had been practised. As to its cause, I am not yet . . .

Yours sincerely
(Fazl-i-Husain)

(4)

The Retseat, Simla
1st May 1933

My dear Iqbal,

Herewith a copy of the last draft which Joginder Singh feels has support of a large section of Hindu leaders and a substantial section of Sikh leaders. Please study it in the light of my last letter. I have no doubt you will agree with me that there is no occasion for Muslim leaders to rush to the press to deal with this proposal. It is not a proposal. It is not a proposal which can be condemned outright, nor is it a proposal over which one can go into hysterics as something wonderful. It is not a bad one, and at present I should not iike to say more than that. As for you, I think as a respectable leader of the Muslim organisation, i.e. All-India Muslim Conference, it would be best for you to say simply this : "The proposal emanating as it does from Hindu and Sikh leaders is one that Muslim leaders should examine carefully and conscientiously and arrive at a decision after they have examined it and studied it thoroughly. The Muslim community in the Punjab have always been anxious to cooperate with sister communities and any scheme which emanates from our neighbours and aims at mutual cooperation and mutual goodwill cannot but command the most serious consideration of all thoughtful Muslims."

If you commend the proposal, then on that ground the Sikh and Hindus will oppose it. If, on the other hand, you condemn it, Hindus and Sikhs will say: since the scheme is condemned by

Muslims, we need not commit ourselves to its support. Therefore, the best policy is, I trust you will agree with me, as indicated above. Already one section of the Sikhs have condemned the proposal. The suitable line to be taken by the press is as indicated above. They can further add that whatever the merit of the proposal may be, among Muslims, every proposal which seeks to modify His Majesty's decision on the subject is looked upon with suspicion, and therefore, it is all the more necessary to examine the proposal in all its details and leave the final conclusion open.

With all good wishes, I remain,

Yours sincerely
Fazl-i-Hussain

[illegible] copy of the last draft which Jogindar [illegible] the support of a large section of Hindu leaders and a [illegible] section of Sikh leaders. Please study it in the light of [illegible] letter. I have no doubt you will agree with me that there [illegible] occasion for Muslim leaders to rush to the press to deal with [illegible] proposal. It is not a proposal, [illegible] a proposal which [illegible] condemned outright, nor is it a proposal over which [illegible] into hysterics as [illegible] it is not a bad one, [illegible] present I should not like to [illegible] As [illegible] think as a [illegible] leader of the Muslim [illegible] India Muslim Conference, it would be [illegible] this : "The proposal [illegible] by Hindu and [illegible] leaders is one that Muslim leaders should examine [illegible] conscientiously and arrive at a decision after they have [illegible] it and studied it thoroughly. The Muslim [illegible] Punjab have always been [illegible] with other [illegible] munities and any scheme which [illegible] from [illegible] and aims at mutual cooperation and mutual goodwill [illegible] but command the [illegible] consideration of all [illegible] Muslims."

If you commend the proposal, then on that ground [illegible] and Hindus will oppose it. If, on the other hand, you [illegible] Hindus and Sikhs will say since the scheme is [illegible]

(3)

Letters

to

Lahore Chief Court Judges

INTRODUCTION

These four letters of Iqbal, dealing with the beginning of his career as a lawyer, are perhaps among the earliest on record. They reveal the following facts about Iqbal's early life:

(*i*) He attended, as a student of Law, the full course of lectures of the Lahore Law School in 1888;

(*ii*) He appeared in the Preliminary Examination in Law in December 1898;

(*iii*) He failed in the paper of Jurisprudence;

(*iv*) In June 1900 he applied to the Chief Court of the Punjab for permission to appear in the Preliminary Examination in December 1900 without attending the law lectures again;

(*v*) This application was refused by the Court;

(*vi*) He was enrolled as Advocate of the Chief Court in October 1908 after he had submitted an application to the Registrar which was accompanied by a letter addressed to the Hon'ble Judges of the Court;

(*vii*) Iqbal worked temporarily as professor of Philosophy in the Government College Lahore at the sudden death of the original incumbent. The last letter in the series, dated 8th May 1909, intimates that he accepted the offer of the Principal provided the Court agrees to take up his cases after 9 a.m.

(1)

To

The Registrar,
Chief Court, Punjab,
Lahore

Sir,

Most respectfully I beg to bring to your kind notice that after attending full course of lectures and paying all kinds of fees I went up for the Preliminary in Law Examination in 1898 but unfortunately failed in the paper of Jurisprudence.

I shall be highly obliged if you kindly exempt me from attending further lectures for that Examination so that I may be able to join the Examination to be held in December 1900.

Certificate of the Registrar of the Punjab University is herewith attached.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
Muhammad Iqbal, M.A.
McLeod Reader
Punjab University, Lahore

6th June 1900

Sd/- Vishnu Singh Kapur
Advocate
No. 937

(2)

To

The Registrar,
Chief Court,
Lahore

Sir,

I shall feel highly obliged if you kindly place the accompanying application for enrolment before the Hon'ble Judges.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
S. Muhammad Iqbal
Bar-at-Law

(3)

To

The Hon'ble Judges of the
Chief Court, Punjab
Lahore

Hon'ble Sirs,

I am a Barrister-at-Law of the Hon'ble Society of Lincoln's Inn having been called to the Bar on Ist July last and desire to start my professional practice at Lahore. I shall be grateful if the Hon'ble Judge will be pleased to enroll me as an Advocate of the Punjab Chief Court.

I am not employed in Government Service nor am I engaged in business. The necessary certificates are attached herewith.

I have etc., etc.,
Your most obedient servant,
Muhammad Iqbal
Bar-at-Law
c/o Mr. Muhammad Shafi
Bar-at-Law

(4)

Chief Court Bar Association
Lahore
8th May, 1909

Dear Sir,

The Punjab Government have asked me to take up temporarily the duties of the late Mr. James, Professor of Philosophy in the Lahore Government College. To save the College authorities from the embarrasment caused by the sudden death of the Prof. of Philosophy I have accepted the arrangement for the morning hours 6-9. I understand that under the rules I ought to intimate the fact to you. I suppose the Director of Public Instruction has already written to the Hon'ble the Chief Judge.

Yours sincerely,
Muhammad Iqbal
Bar-at-Law
and Advocate, Chief Court,
Lahore

(3)

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Yours sincerely,
Muhammad Iqbal
Bar-at-Law
and Advocate, Chief Court,
Lahore

(4)

Letters

to

Sir Ross Mas'ud

INTRODUCTION

Sir Ross Mas'ud was the grandson of the great Sayyid Ahmad Khan. He was for some time in the service of the late Nizam of Haidarabad, then he became Vice-Chanceller of the Muslim University, Aligarh. During the days when some of these letters were exchanged, he resigned from this post. He later took up service with the late Nawab Hamidullah Khan of Bhopal.

Ross Mas'ud had great regard for Iqbal and some of the photographs where the two are together reveal deep affection he had for Iqbal. It was during his Vice-Chancellorship that the Muslim University conferred Honorary doctrate on Iqbal. It was mainly through his efforts that the Nawab of Bhopal granted life-long pension to Iqbal to enable him to write his contemplated book about the Quran.

Iqbal had the opportunity to live close to Ross Mas'ud first during their visit to Afghanistan in October 1933 and later when he used to visit Bhopal for medical treatment. In these days he some time stayed with him. As the letters reveal, Iqbal was affectionately looked after by the whole family and Iqbal's reciprocal affection for Ross Mas'ud and his faith in his sincerity is evident from Iqbal's decision to appoint him as one of the guardians of his children. In one of his letters, Iqbal calls him "as my other self."[1]

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Ross Mas'ud died on 31 July 1937. The news of his death was a great shock to the poet. He wrote some verses for his tombstone.

نہ پیوستم درین بستان سرا دل
ز بند این و آن آزادہ رفتم
چو بادِ صبح گردیدم دمی چند
گلان را رنگ و آبے دادہ رفتم

I lived unconcerned in this garden,
free from all bonds ;
for a while I moved about like morning breeze
and bestowed colour and shine on them.

If, as he said, only one verse is needed, then the following may be used:

اے برادر ! من ترا از زندگی دادم نشان
خواب را مرگ سبک دان، مرگ را خواب گران

O brother, I tell you what life is :
sleep is light death ; death is deep sleep.[2]

Iqbal wrote an elegy on his death which is included in *Armaghan-i Hijaz*. I give below rendering of a few verses:

Alas ! Time has destroyed the inheritor
of the greatness of Ahmad and Mahmud[3] ;
his sudden death portends decline of art and literature,
Mas'ud was an invaluable assest of our caravan.[4]

(1)

Lahore
14th January 1934

My dear Masood,

I understand that the post of the Dean of Shi'a Theology has fallen vacant in the Aligarh University and that you are now thinking of filling it up. As I am very much interested in Theology I would like to make a suggestion in this connection and hope that you will excuse my interference. I want to suggest the name of M. Sayyid Sibt Nabi of Naugaon who studied Shi'a Theology at Najf for about 14 years. To my knowledge he is one of the most learned of our theologians of today and besides his great learning he lives a noble life worthy of a great Muslim. He is a man of broad vision and in every respect fit for a modern University of Islam. I have no doubt that you will not be able to find a better man for the post. Please give your best consideration to him.[5]

As to other matters, things are a bit hopeful. I do not know whether you thought it fit to see the Viceroy in this connection.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(2)

Lahore
2nd June 1934

My dear Masood,

Please let me know immediately your whereabouts and your future programme. I want to meet you or write to you about a very important matter concerning myself.

I hope you wont mind replying to this letter by the return of post.

Yours Ever
Muhammad Iqbal

P.S. The matter to be discussed has nothing to do with your resignation.[6]

(3)

Lahore
20th March 1935

My dear Masood,

I hope you and Lady Masood are quite well. I too am getting on all right. I think 21st of April will suit well for H. H's visit to Lahore. On the 20th H.E. the Governor will formally visit the session. I wish that the whole of 21st may remain for H. H. and the Punjab Muslims.[7] Please see that if H. H. is not going to England things are arranged accordingly. You can understand why I wish that there may be a separate day for H.H. I hope it is now finally settled that H.H. is not going to England. If so please wire. Also wire he approves of 21st April.

Have you heard anything about the other matter? I am anxiously waiting for your letter, i.e. the letter which you intend to write to me about the end of this month. Please remember me to Lady Masood and Anwar.[8]

Yours ever
Muhammad Iqbal

(4)

Lahore
14th April 1935

My dear Masood,

I hope you did receive my letter enclosing Miss Farquharson's letter. What do you think of the passage I underlined? Did you receive the paper she has sent to you? I and a few other gentlemen are sending today a statement to the Associated Press regarding the resignation of H.H.[7]

I have after all got a little clue to your scheme regarding me. My source of information is a friend from Bahawalpur to whose ruler H.H. of Bhopal, I am told, has sent a letter. I have got some information as to the contents of this letter. Is the report I have received true? I shall tell you what I think of it on hearing from you in reply to this letter.

Please send my respects to Lady Masood and love to Anwar.

Yours ever
Muhammad Iqbal

(5)

Lahore
26th April 1935

My dear Masood,

Thanks for your letter. I am sorry to hear that you have been ill and hope that you will soon recover. I hope to be able to come to Bhopal about the end of May. My wife is an old invalid and has been so for the last 10 years. She has got spleen and liver trouble and at present she has become very weak on account of fever. We are shifting to our new house about the middle of May and I pray to God that she may be able to move a bit by that time.

I am very grateful to you for all the interest you have been taking in my affairs though I cannot conceal the fact from you that I am not feeling very hopeful about it. I was very joyous sometimes ago mainly because I thought you would succeed and in that case I should be able to write my long contemplated notes on the Quran in the light of modern thought. But somehow I feel now that my dream may be realised. I can think of no greater gift that I can make to the Muslims of the world if I am enabled to devote the remaining years of my life to this work.

However let us see. Everything is in the hands of God. If He approves of this service to modern Islam, He may be pleased to give me the necessary means for its completion. Please remember me to Lady Masood. Ali Bakhsh sends his respects to both of you.

Javid also sends his adab to you and the Lady Masood. Hoping you are well.

Yours ever
Muhammad Iqbal

(8)

Introductory Note

This letter is addressed to Mr Justice Rashid, judge of Indore High Court. He was father of Lady Mas'ud. It is included here because it deals with Ross Mas'ud's family matters. A child of hers had died which upset her very much.

My dear Rashid,

Thank you for your letter which reached me a moment ago. As you know I have great affection for Amtul[10] and Masood and would do any thing to please them. But in this particular matter I cannot help telling you that for psychological reasons it will not be good to keep this painful memory alive. This memory seriously affects her physiology as a mother. I would advise you to wait till God in His infinite mercy may grant her another child. You may then put the following verse on the marble :

در چمن بود ولیکن نتوان گفت کہ بود
آہ ازان غنچہ کہ بادِ سحر او را نکشود

This verse[11] came to me immediately after I had finished reading your letter.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

NOTES

1. Shaikh Ataullah, *Iqbalnama*, I, p. 368.

2. Ibid., pp. 329-330.

3. Ahmad refers to Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Mahmud refers to his son, father of Sir Ross Mas'ud.

4. *Armaghan-i Hijaz*, p. 243.

5. The records of the Muslim University show that previous Dean of Shia theology, Sayyid Yusuf Hussain Najafi, died on 16 December 1933. Sayyid Sibt-i Nabi was appointed at Iqbal's recommendation.

6. Resignation from Vice-Chancellorship of the Muslim University.

7. The annual session of the Anjuman Himayat-i Islam, Lahore, was held in 1935 in the grounds of the Islamia College, Railway Road. This session was presided over by the late Nawab Hamidullah Khan of Bhopal.

8. Anwar was the son of Ross Mas'ud.

8. His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal resigned Chancellorship of the Muslim University.

9. Amtul is the name of Lady Mas'ud.

10. This verse can be rendered as follows :

> He came to the garden awhile
> but did he belong to it ?
> Alas for the bud that morning wind
> did not open !

NOTES

1. Shaikh Ataullah, *Iqbalnama*, I, p. 368.
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but did he belong to it?
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(5)

Letters

to

Mr. Na'im al-Haq

INTRODUCTION

These four letters are addressed to Mr. Na'im al-Haq, an advocate of Patna. He had offered to argue the cases of those (workers of Majlis-i Ahrar and others) who were in prison for participating in Kashmir agitation against the injustices of the Kashmir State. Iqbal in his presidential address (21 March 1932) to the Muslim Conference had welcomed this agitation as a sign of "resurrection of a people in whom the ego-flame had almost extinguished."[1] A resolution was passed by the Muslim Conference Working Committee (7 August 1932), for the immediate release of Ahrar workers who were imprisoned in Kashmir agitation.[2]

For the defence of these prisoners, a Kashmir Committee was formed under the presidentship of the late Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud of Qadian. Iqbal was a member of this committee. But it soon transpired that the Qadiani people were more interested in the propagation of their sectarian beliefs rather in the objective for which the Committee was formed. Iqbal, therefore, dissociated himself from this Committee but he continued to take active interest in the affairs of Kashmir people.

In a statement issued on 30 June 1933, he appealed to the Muslims of the country to contribute to the Kashmir Fund.[3] He wrote a letter to the late Nawab Yar Jung of Haidarabad State on 14 September 1933 for the same purpose.[4]

(1)

Lahore
13th January 1934

My dear Mr. Naimul Haq

Thanks for your letter and telegram which I received last night and to which I replied this morning. It is extremely kind of you to offer to do both the cases. I am sending you the judgment and other papers relating to one of the two cases which begins at Jammu on 13th of February, 1934. Perhaps it would be better if you could reach Jammu on the 12th February. As to the other case I am not yet in possession of the papers. If an other arrangement is not made I shall be glad to send the papers to you the moment I get them.

The second case begins on 5th of February. The case of which I am sending you the papers will not take more than 5 or 6 days. I am sure you will have plenty of time to prepare it at leisure. Thanking you,

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

P.S. Please acknowledge receipt of papers; of the details of your arrival in Jammu please inform Sh. Abdul Hamid, Advocate (President, Kashmir Conference). In other matters too it would be better if you could keep in touch with him.

(2)

Lahore
22nd January 1934

My dear Mr. Naimul Haq,

Thank you so much for your kind letter which I received a moment ago. I was very anxious about my friends at Patna and was indeed going to wire you today when your letter arrived. It is extremely brave of you to undertake to argue the case in spite of the unsettled state of mind which this terrible earthquake[5] must have given you and others. I have received a copy of the judgment in the other Mirpur case but not yet the rest of the papers. I fear it would be too much to ask you to do this case also. As to your assistant I shall try to find one from here. He may join you from Lahore or at Jammu. The Jammu Conference will make arrangements for your stay. Please write to Sh. Abdul Hamid. I have also spoken to Sh. Muhammad Abdullah, President of the Conference who happens to be at Lahore at present and is likely to be in Jammu when you are there. Hoping you are well and thanking you,

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(3)

Lahore
28th January 1934

My dear Mr. Naimul Haq,

Thanks for your letter. I am writing to Mr. Abdul Hamid to get the case postponed. But the best course is that now that you are engaged to argue the case you should apply directly to Kashmir High Court stating the reasons you have mentioned in your letter.

Hoping your are well.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(4)

Lahore
9th February 1934

My dear Mr. Naimul Haq,

Thanks for your letter. The case which I requested you to argue is to be argued by Ch. Zafarullah Khan. Mr. Abdul Hamid wrote to me to that effect and I thought it my duty to inform you immediately in order to save you all the trouble.

How Ch. Zafarullah is going there and who has asked him to argue the case I do not know. Perhaps by some people in the Kashmir Conference who are still carrying on secretly with the Qadianis.[6]

Hoping you are well and thanking you for all your trouble and self-sacrifice.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

NOTES

1. K.K. Aziz, *The All-India Muslim Conference*, p. 93.

2. Ibid., p. 110.

3. Rafiq Afdal, *Guftar-i Iqbal*, pp. 173-177.

4. B.A. Dar Ed., *Anwar-i Iqbal*, p. 213.

5. It refers to the devastating earthquake in Bihar which resulted in great loss of life and property.

6. This refers to the intrigues carried on by some members of the Kashmir Committee on behalf of the Qadianis, who tried to take advantage of the misfortune of Kashmir people for promoting the interests of their community.

Chaudhri Zafarulla Khan was for some time Foreign Minister of Pakistan. Before Partition, he was for some time member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

(6)

Letters

to

Mr. Jamil

INTRODUCTION

The Madras Muslim Association invited Iqbal to deliver a series of lectures on Islam. These lectures were later on published under the title: Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam.

Iqbal left Lahore on 2 January 1929. The late Chaudhri Muhammad Husain, Iqbal's boon friend, and Dr Abdullah Chaghtai accompanied him on the journey.

During this sojourn, Iqbal stayed for some time in Banglore. Mr Jameel, a resident of that city, started correspondence with Iqbal. Out of a total of 7 letters, the first four were written during the same year. They refer to several persons whom Iqbal met and several events that occured during the journey.

(1)

18th February 1929

My dear Mr. Jameel,

Thank you so much for you letter and the Photo-cards which I received a moment ago. I am very glad to be able to say that I have withstood the tests and am now preparing for a tour through Persia and Turkey in spite of the many financial difficulties in my way. However, I hope God will vouchsafe to me all that is necessary for this journey which I wish to undertake only for the good of Islam and Muslims. I am very glad to hear that my visit to Mysore has given Muslim young men enthusiasm for historial research work. Seth Muhammad Abba[1] promised to send me a manuscript of the history of Tippu now in possession of somebody whom we met at the tomb of the Sultan. I hope he will succeed in his enterprise. Please remember me to him and tell him that his energy and enthusiasm for Islam have left an indelible impression on my mind. And I pray to God that he may become as high a man as Sir Haji Ismail of Banglore.[2] Ch. Muhammad Husain is quite well and will certainiy welcome the Photoes you have sent and others that you may find. He too has become enthusiastic about the history of the Sultan and is now writing a brief article on him. He is also thinking of a *Safar-Nama* of Madras in which he will very probably use all the Photoes you are able to send.

I see no harm in publishing the lectures of your friend Dr. Umar Holsts. There is nothing original in them but I think they will have some effect on Christian readers.

The cultural and philosophical side of Islam is got to be worked out. There are some books in German which have been recently translated into English by Salahuddin Khuda Bakhsh of Calcutta, but I don't think much of them.

Hoping you are quite well.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(2)

Lahore
21st May 1929

My dear Mr. Jameel,

Thanks for your letter enclosing Eid Card. I am quite well and am glad to learn that you are also in the enjoyment (of) good health. I am doing all that I can to go to Turkey and Egypt at last. As you know, it is a question of money and rich Muslims in India do not reallze the importance of spending their money in the interests of Islam. The present is an extermely critical (period) in the history of Islam. If proper methods are adopted Islam can still conquer whole nations. However I shall try to do all I can.

Please send my salams to Mr. Hamid Hasan and Hajee Seth Jamal Muhammad.[3]

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(3)

Lahore
4th August 1929

My dear Mr. Jameel,

Thanks for your letters of the 20th which reached me this morning. The courts are closed for summer vacation and I am writing down my remaining three lectures which I hope to finish by the end of October. There is yet no prospect of my going out for a tour in the lands of Islam. It is not yet possible to overcome financial difficulties. The poem on Sultan Shaheed will form a portion of a longer work which I hope to make my life work. I am afraid you will have to wait a good long time before it comes out. I wrote a part of it sometimes ago, but had to lay it aside on account of other pressing engagements.

I do not know of any *Roznamcha* of the Sultan. If there is one I should be glad to possess a copy. Have you got one? If so lend it to me for sometime. It will be returned as soon as I have taken down notes from it for my own work.

Ch. Muhammad Husain is here every evening. I think he will take up his *Safar Nama* in right earnest. I am glad to hear that the (Prophet's Birthday) invoked great enthusiasm in South India. I believe the personality of the Prophet is the only force which can bring together the scattered forces of Islam in the country. The organization of Muslims is badly needed in view of what is coming in the near future. The founder of this movement[4] was here this morning and I explained to him how the movement could be utilized for the purposes of Islam in this country. Details

of this can be given in oral conversation only. It is not advisable to write.

I have given your letter to Chaudri Sahib and hope he may write to you in detail about his *Safar Nama*.

Hoping you are well.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(4)

Lahore
4th November 1929

My dear Mr. Jameel,

Thank you so much for the amount of Rs. 10/- which you have sent for the Hilal-i-Ahmar[5] to be deposited in the Bank. I hope the gentlemen of Banglore, to whom I have appealed for subscription, will respond to my call. I have sent wires to Seth Hajee Ismail and to the Editor of *Al-kalam*.[6] Also to Abdul Ghafoor Sahib.[7] Please do not forget to remind them of our duty to our Trans-Indus brethern. The integrity and independence of Afghanistan is a great asset to the Musalmans of India and Middle Asia. Bacha Saqqa was executed with his eleven companions and king Nadir Khan is gradually consolidating his position. My lectures are now finished and will be delivered at Aligarh probably in this very month. The Usmania University has also invited me to deliver them at Hyderabad in the end of January, 1930. Madras has also invited me, but I doubt very much whether I shall be able to come.

It is so very kind of you to negotiate for the diary of Sultan Shaheed. If you are able to send me a copy I shall consider it a great treasure. It will greatly help me in writing about the Sultan or rather giving a picture of him in the poem I contemplate. Please let me know if the gentleman who is in possession of the book wants a price for the copy. If so let me know the amount; I shall be only too glad to pay for it if the price is reasonable. If

he allows you to copy the book please try and write a legible hand. Chaudri Sahib is well. He sees me almost every evening.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(5)

Lahore
4th March 1930

My dear Mr. Jameel,

Thank you so much for your beautiful 'Id Card which I received a moment ago. I wish the same happy 'Id to you and pray that God in His infinite grace my be pleased to shower His blessings on the younger generation of Muslims in India and elsewhere.

My lectures are in the press. I hope they will be printed and published in about two months' time. I will tell the publisher to send you a copy as soon as they are out.

But if I forget to do so, please remind me about the end of April. There are no English works of Goldzeiher as far as I know. He is a German Jew and does not write in English. His most well known books are in German and in these I did not find much. I have little faith in European orientalists whose books are mostly actuated either by political propaganda or missionary considerations. Afghanistan is settling down. Very few people in India know the real cause of Revolution in that counry. In my opinion there are no chances of King Amanullah's return.[8] As far as I know the Afghans do not like him. King Nadir Shah is doing his best to put the country on the way to progress. He is very much loved by the Afghans. He is half a Punjabee. His mother was born and brought up in Lahore.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(6)

Lahore
6th December 1934

My dear Mr. Jameel,

Thanks for your letter. I have been suffering from throat trouble for the last 11 months. Perhaps I shall have to go to Vienna for treatment. My lectures were published by the Oxford University. Another lecture was added on "Is Religion Possible?" I think you can get the book from Oxford University Press, Calcutta or Bombay or else you can write to London.

A collection of my Urdu poems will be published in January, 1935. A Persian poem called مسافر [*Musafir*] was published about a month or so ago. This was an account of what I saw in Afghanistan during my visit last year.[9]

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(7)

Bhopal
Shish Mahal
6th March 1936

My dear Mr. Jameel,

Thanks for your letter. I am still unwell and undergoing electric treatment at Bhopal. Rhodes Lectures are abandoned for the present on account of my ill-health. بالِ جبریل [*Bal-i Jibril*] was published last year. ضربِ کلیم [*Darb-i Kalim*] will, I hope, come out in April next. For both write to Taj Company, Lahore. As to "Islam and Ahmadism", write to Lahore انجمن خدام الدین (Anjuman Khuddam-al-din).

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

NOTES

1. Seth Muhammad Abba was a great businessman of Mysore who did everything for the convenience of the visitors.

2. Seth Haji Ismail of Banglore. It was he who received Iqbal and his party at Banglore Cantt station. He was eighty years old and as Dr Chaghatai relates, he was as energetic at this advanced age as any young man.

3 Seth Jamal Muhammad was a millionaire of South India having international trade relations, a highly cultured man, well-versed in eastern and western lore, a scholar of deep insight. Iqbal was greatly impressed by his zeal for the future of Muslims. "This is the type of man we need most—top-most scholar talking philosophy and science, millionaire and dressed in simplest possible clothes," said Iqbal.

Mr Hamid Hasan, secretary of the Institute run by Seth Jamal Muhammad, and his companion and advisor in different types of social work. He was a lawyer and was Persian and Urdu translator in the Madras High Court.

4. It probably refers to the late Abdul Majid Qarshi who initiated this movement of *Sirat.* He had the full support of Iqbal. For further details, see writer's art. "Miracle of Islam," in quarterly *Iqbal* for January 1977.

5. Hilal-i Ahmar. When the late Nadir Shah begah to advance towards Afghanistan to fight the usurper Bachcha Saqqa, th Muslims of the sub-continent tried to help the cause of Nadir Shah financially. For this purpose, a meeting was held at the residence of Khan Saadat Ali Khan, Lahore (3 October 1929) with Iqbal as president. This meeting decided to open Nadir Khan Hilal-i Ahmar Fund. Iqbal issued an appeal on 11 October 1929 to the Muslims of the sub-continent to contribute to the Fund whatever they could spare for their brethren. See *Guftar-i Iqbal*, pp. 98-100.

6. *Al-Kalam* was a monthly of South India, which issued a special Iqbal Number on Iqbal's visit. Its editor was Ghaus Muhy al-Din.

7. Haji Abdul Ghaffur was a merchant of Banglore.

8. Amanullah Khan ascended the throne of Afghanistan after the death of his father, Amir Habibullah Khan, He succeded in winning from the British Government recognition of his country's independence and was much popular among the Muslims of the Sub-continent. He started a modernist movement in his country which seemed to have provoked a serious revolt against him. It was felt that it was engineered by the British. Being unable to quell the rebellion, he left Afghanistan and spent the rest of his life in exile in Italy.

Amanullah's early exploits caught the imagination of the Muslims of the sub-continent. Iqbal dedicated his *Payam-i Mashriq* to him.

9. Iqbal went to Afghanistan along with Sir Ross Mas'ud and Sayyid Sulayman Nadvi, at the invitation of King Nadir Shah to make recommendations for the educational development of the country See Hafiz Abbadullah Faruqi's art: "Iqbal in Afghanistan," (Urdu) in *Iqbal* for October 1963.

The Persian mathnavi *Musafir* gives Iqbal's impression of the Journey. It was first published independently but now it is included in the mathnavi *Pas Che Bayad Kard.*

10. Anjuman Khuddamuddin was established under the patronage of Maulana Ahmad Ali, son-in-law of Ubaidullah Sindhi. Its central office was in the Sheranwala Gate Mosque. It issued a weekly *al-Islam* under the editorship of Khwaja Abdul Wahid.

The booklet "Islam and Ahmadism" was published by this organisation Its original typescript with marginal notes and corrections in Iqbal's hand was with Khwaja sahib who later on handed it over to the Iqbal Academy. At present this souvenier is with the National Museum, Karachi.

[illegible] party at Bangalore Cantt. station. He was eighty years [illegible]

[illegible] independence [illegible]

Mr. Hamid Hasan, [illegible] Mahmood, [illegible] in different types of social work. He was a lawyer and was Persian and Urdu translator in the Madras High Court.

4. It probably refers to the late [illegible] who initiated this movement of [illegible]. For further details, see writer's art. "[illegible] of Islam," in quarterly Iqbal for January [illegible].

5. [illegible] When the late Nadir Shah began to advance towards Afghanistan to [illegible] the usurper Bachcha Saqqa, the Muslims of the sub-continent tried to help the cause of Nadir Shah financially. For this purpose, a meeting was held at the residence of Khan [illegible] Ali Khan, Lahore [illegible] October [illegible], with Iqbal as president. This meeting decided to open Nadir Khan [illegible] Fund. Iqbal issued an appeal on 12 October 1929 to the Muslims of the sub-continent to contribute to the Fund whatever they could [illegible], pp. [illegible].

6. [illegible] was a monthly of South India, which issued a special Iqbal [illegible]. Its editor was Ghulam Muhy al-Din.

7. [illegible] was a merchant of Bangalore.

8. Amanullah Khan ascended the throne of Afghanistan after the death of his father [illegible] Khan. He succeeded in winning from the British the [illegible] of his country's independence and was [illegible]. He started a modernisation movement in his country which seemed to have provoked a serious revolt against him, [illegible] engineered by the British. Being unable to quell the rebellion, he left Afghanistan and spent the rest of his life in exile in Italy.

(7)

Letters

to

S. M. Ikram

INTRODUCTION

Shaikh Muhammad Ikram was a well-known beaurocrat. After retiring from service, he became Director of Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore. Besides Ghalib Nama, mentioned in these letters, he wrote Shibli Nama and the three books of Kauthar series which deal with the cultural history of the Muslims of the sub-continent. Most critics feel that this series is hardly an objective historical account of Muslim people of this area. In a previous edition of the last book of the series, viz. *Mauj-i Kauthar*, he was greatly critical of Iqbal, though in later editions this adverse comment was omitted.

(1)

Lahore
3rd May 1937

My dear Mr. Ikram,

When you met me last time you promised a copy of your book *Ghalib Nama*, as well as the mangoes of Surat, which you told me were very fine. I can wait for the latter but cannot wait for the former, after having read the reviews of it in the press. Do send me a copy at an early date.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(2)

Lahore
12th May 1937

My dear Mr. Ikram,

Thank you for your letter and the book which arrived an hour after the arrival of your letter. It seems that you have taken great pains in the compilation of your introduction and the arrangement of Ghalib's poems in chronological order. I must say that you have produced an excellent book on Ghalib, though unfortunately I do not agree with some of your conclusions. I have always believed that Ghalib's imitation of بیدل (Bedil) in his Urdu verse was a complete failure. He imitated Bedil in form only and missed Bedil's meanings altogether. Bedil's thought was a little too advanced for his contemporaries.[1] There is some evidence to show that his contemporaries and other students of Persian poetry, both in India and outside it, failed to understand Bedil's view of life.

Hoping you are well.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

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1. Iqbal's love for Bedil is very well-known. In *Stray Reflections*, written as early as early as 1910, he is all praise for him. See pp. 54, 83. In his message to Ghalib Day celebrations, he emphasised the importance of the study of Bedil. See *Mulfuzat*, p. 135. Iqbal feels that Bedil's thought is quite modern and his outlook on life is dynamic, though he lived in an age which was gradually going down and decaying. Very little has so far been done on the relation of Iqbal and Bedil. The exception is the interesting article by the late Professor Hamid Ahmad Khan, in his Urdu book on Iqbal's Personality and Poetry, pp. 81-104.

(3)

Lahore
20th June 1937

My dear Mr. Ikram,

I was glad to receive the parcel of mangoes which you were good enough to send. They are of excellent quality, though unfortunately owing perhaps to the change of climate or the intense heat of Lahore some germs got into them, which seriously affected their taste.

Hoping you are well.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(4)

Lahore
17th December 1933

My dear Mr. Ikram,

Thanks for your letter. I have accepted Lord Lothian's invitation. The subject on which I propose to write is: Space and Time in Muslim Thought. It is a difficult subject and involves a good deal of research on manuscripts which are yet unknown—at least some of them. Nor has yet any body written on it. I am, therefore, doubtful whether I shall be able to write these lectures in the three or four months which are at my disposal. I have, therefore, written to Lord Lothian asking him whether Rhodes Trustees will permit me to deliver these lectures in the summer of 1934.

Please write to me in February or in the end of January 1934. By that time I shall be able to give you more exact information. I have no inclination to deliver any public lectures in Oxford besides those I have already undertaken. But I shall be glad to have informal talks on Islamic subjects.[2]

Yours sineerely,
Muhammad Iqbal

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2. For Lord Lothian and Rhodes Lectures, see Section 8, notes to Letter 37.

(5)

Lahore
18th February 1934

My dear Mr. Ikram,

Thank you for your letter which reached me a moment ago. I am not going to Gwaliar, nor do I even attend gathering of this kind. As to Rhodes lectures I hope to deliver them next year (1935) April-May. I have no intention of leaving India till April, 1935.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(8)

Miscellaneous Letters

(1)

Introductory Note

When *Asrar-i-Khudi* was first published in Lahore in 1915, it raised a great storm of protest from almost all quarters. In a way it showed that Iqbal's approach was quite correct and that he had laid his finger on the real malady. The history of this controversy is beautifully described by Abdullah Qureshi in the series of articles on this controversy published in the early issues of the quarterly *Iqbal*. The *mathnavi* was considered to be an attack against sufism as such, and people like Hasan Nizami, who were on very intimate terms with Iqbal, protested against it. Iqbal wrote several articles in his defence and tried to appeal to Akbar Allahabadi and Sayyid Sulayman Phulwarvi to settle this matter. In the second edition of the *Asrar*, Iqbal accepted the critics' stand to the extent that he deleted verses which were written against Hafiz of Shiraz who was accused by Iqbal of poisonong the minds of the people through his wrong ideological approach.

When the *mathnavi* was translated into English by R. A. Nicholson and published by Macmillan Co. London in 1920, several reviews were published in the British press. Out of these only two merited attention, which are the subject matter of this letter of Iqbal to Dr Nicholson.

The first review was by E.M. Forester in *Athenaeum*. The other was by Dr Dickinson of Cambridge in the Weekly *Nation*. Unfortunately, I could not have access to these papers and therefore I have relied on their Urdu translation as they appeared in the monthly *Ma'arif*, Azamgarh, of June and September 1921. The

summary of these reviews given here is based on this translation.

In the former, it was alleged that Iqbal was influenced by Nietzsche's concept of super-man which stood for absolute strength and hardness; it was strange, the critic added, how Iqbal could make it Islamic, for Nietzsche's infatuation for Aristocracy and his denial of God could not be acceptable to Iqbal. Nietzsche's Perfect Man, in Iqbal's hands, becomes God's Vicegerent on earth.

The other review by Dickinson says that Iqbal's thought seems to be an amalgam of Nietzsche and Bergson and a bit of his teacher McTaggart. Subjects like *Khudi*, Will to Power, struggle against odds show that Nietzsche's influence was stronger. Iqbal does not believe in the usefulness of sufism and has criticised Plato for his otherworldliness. Iqbal's philosophy is based on the teachings of the ancient book, the Quran and hence teaches loyalty to Islam. Though in principle this philosophy is universal, yet in actual practice, it is wedded to the cause of a particular group, as he holds that Muslims alone deserve to be successors to real power. It means that his teaching of strengthening *Khudi* amounts to a cry for revival of Muslim people. He invites Muslim people in clear words to declare *Jihad*, holy war. It is true that he forbids war for worldly ambitions; but whatever the motive, war is after all war which brings about destruction. It seems Islam has once again become ready to take up sword to free and then to unite Islam.

Lahore
24th January 1921

My dear Dr. Nicholson,

I was very glad to learn from your letter to Shafi* that your translation of the *Asrar-i-Khudi* had been favourably received and excited much attention in England. Some of the English reviewers, however, have been misled by the superficial resemblance of some of my ideas to those of Nietzsche.

The view of the writer in the *Athenaeum* is largely affected by some mistakes of fact for which, however, the writer does not seem to be responsible. But I am sure if he had known some of the dates of the publication of my Urdu poems referred to in his review, he would have certainly taken a totally different view of the growth of my literary activity. Nor does he rightly understand my idea of the Perfect Man which he confounds with the German thinker's Superman. I wrote on the Sufi doctrine of the Perfect Man more than twenty years ago, long before I had read or heard anything of Nietzsche. This was then published in the *Indian Antiquary*, and later in 1908 formed part of my *Persian Metaphysics*. The English reader ought to approach this idea not through the German] thinker, but through an English thinker of great merit—I mean Alexander—whose Gifford lectures, delivered at Glasgow, were published last year. His chapter on Deity and God (Chapter I, Book IV, p. 341, Vol. II) is worth reading. On page 347, he says: "Deity is thus the next higher empirical quality to mind, which the universe Is engaged in bringing to birth. That the universe is pregnant with such a quality—we are speculatively assured. What that quality is we cannot know, for we can neither enjoy nor still less contemplate it. Our human altars still are raised to the Unknown God. If we could know what Deity is, how it feels to be Divine, we should first have to become as Gods." Alexander's thought is much bolder than mine.

I believe there is a Divine tendency in the universe, but this

*Late Principal Muhammad Shafi of Oriental College, Lahore

tendency will eventually find its complete expression in a higher man, not in a God subject to Time, as Alexander implies in his discussion of the subject. I do not agree with Alexander's view of God, but it is clear that my idea of the Perfect Man will lose much of its outlandishness in the eyes of the English reader if he approaches it through the ideas of a thinker of his own country.

But is was Mr. Dickinson's review which interested me most, and I want to make a few remarks on it. Kindly pass on this letter to him; I a sure he will be interested to know what I think of his review.

(1) Mr. Dickinson thinks, as I understand from his private letter to me, that I have deified physical force in the poem. I am afraid he is mistaken in his view. I believe in the power of the spirit, not brute force. When a people is called to a righteous war, it is, according to my belief, their duty to obey the call, but I condemn all wars of conquest (the story of Mianmir and the Emperor of India). Mr Dickinson, however, is quite right when he says that war is destructive, whether it is waged in the interest of Truth and Justice, or in the interests of conquest and exploitation. It must be put an end to in any case. We have seen, however, that Treaties, Leagues, Arbitrations and Conferences cannot put an end to it. Even if we secure these in a more effective manner than before, ambitious nations will substitute more peaceful forms of the exploitation of races supposed to be less favoured or less civilised. The truth is that we stand in need of a living personality to solve our social problems, to settle our disputes, and to place international morality on a sure basis. How very true are the last two paragraphs of Professor Mackenzie's ***Introduction to Social Philosophy:***

> "There can be no ideal society without ideal man: and for production of these we require not only insight but a motive power; fire as well as light. Perhaps, a philosophic understanding of our social problems is not even the chief want of our time. We need prophets as well as teachers, men like Carlyle or Ruskin or Tolstoy, who are able to add for us a new severity to conscience or a

new breadth to duty.

Perhaps we want a new Christ... It has been well said that the prophet of our time must be a man of the world, and not merely a voice in the wilderness. For indeed the wilderness of the present is in the streets of our crowded cities, and in the midst of the incessant war by which we are trying to make our way upwards. It is there that the prophet must be.

"Or perhaps our chief want is rather for the poet of the new age than for its prophet—or for one who should be poet and prophet in one. Our poets of recent generations have taught us the love of nature, and enabled us to see in it the revelation of the Divine. We still look for one who shall show us with the same clearness the presence of the Divine in the human.... We still need one who shall be fully and in all seriousness what Heine playfully called himself a "Ritter von dem Heiligen Geish," one who shall teach us to see the working out of our highest ideals in the everyday life of the world, and to find in devotion to the advancement of that life, not merely a sphere for an ascetic selfsacrifice, but a supreme object in the pursuit of which all thoughts, all passions, all delights may receive their highest development and satisfaction."

It is in the light of above thoughts that I want the British public to read my description of the ideal man. It is not our treaties and arbitrations which will put an end to the internecine wars of the human family.

(2) Mr Dickinson further refers to my 'Be hard'. This is based on the view of Reality that I have taken in the poem. According to my belief, Reality is a collection of individualities tending to become a harmonious whole through conflict which must inevitably lead to mutual adjustment. This conflict is a necessity in the interests of the evolution of higher forms of life, and of personal immortality. Nietzsche did not believe in personal immortality. To those desiring it, he ruthlessly says, "Do you wish to be a perpetual burden on the shoulders of time?" He was led to say

this because he had a wrong notion of time, and never tried to grapple with the ethical issue involved in the question of time. On the other hand, I look upon immortality as the highest aspiration of man on which he should focus all his energies, and consequently I recognise the need of all forms of activity, including conflict, which tend to make the human person more and more stable. And for the same consideration, I condemn speculative mysticism and inactive queitism. My interest in conflict is mainly ethical and not political whereas Nietzsche's was probably only political. Modern physical science has taught us that the atom of material-energy has achieved its present form through thousands of years of evolution. Yet it is unstable and can be made to disappear. The same is the case with the atom of mind-energy, i.e., the human person. It has achieved its present form through ions of incessant effort and conflict; yet, in spite of all this, its instability is clear from the various phenomena of mental pathology. If it has to continue intact it cannot ignore the lessons learnt from its past career, and will require the same or similar forces to maintain its stability which it has availed of before. It is possible that in its onward march nature may modify or eliminate altogether some of the forces (e.g., conflict in the way of mutual wars) that have so far determined and helped its evolution, and introduce new forces hitherto unknown to mankind to secure its stability. But, I confess, I am not an idealist in this matter and believe this time to be very distant. I am afraid mankind will not for a very long time to come, learn the lesson that the Great European War has taught them. Thus it is clear that my purpose in recognizing the need of conflict is mainly ethical. Mr. Dickinson has unfortunately altogether ignored this aspect of the "Be hard".

(3) Mr. Dickinson further remarks that while my philosophy is universal my application of it is particular and exclusive. This is in a sense true. The humanitarian ideal is always universal in poetry and philosophy, but if you make it an effective ideal and work it out in actual life, you must start, not with poets and philosophers, but with a society exclusive in the sense of having a creed and welldefined outline, but ever enlarging its limits by example and persuasion. Such a society, according to my belief, is Islam. This

society has so far proved itself a more successful opponent of the race-idea which is probably the hardest barrier in the way of the humanitarian ideal. Renan was wrong when he said that science was the greatest enemy of Islam. No, it is the race idea which is the greatest enemy of Islam—in fact, of all humanity, and it is the duty of all lovers of mankind to stand in revolt against this dreadful invention of the devil. Since I find that the idea of nationality based on race or territory is making headway in the world of Islam, and since I fear that the Musllms, losing sight of their own ideal of a universal humanity, are being lured by the idea of a territorial nationality, I feel it is my duty as a Muslim and as a lover of all mankind, to remind them of their true function in the evolution of mankind. Tribal or national organizations on the lines of race or territory are only temporary phases in the unfoldment and upbringing of collective life, and as such I have no quarrel with them; but I condemn them in the strongest possible terms when they are regarded as the ultimate expression of the life of mankind. While I have the greatest love for Islam, it is in view of practical and not patriotic considerations, as Mr. Dickinson thinks, that I am compelled to start with a specific society (e.g., Islam) which among the societies of the world, happens to be the only one suitable to my purpose. Nor is the spirit of Islam so exclusive as Mr. Dickinson thinks. In the interests of a universal unification of mankind the Quran ignores their minor differences and says, "Come, let us unite on what is common to us all!" (iii. 64).

I am afraid the old European idea of a blood-thirsty Islam is still lingering in the mind of Mr. Dickinson. All men and not Muslims alone are meant for the Kingdom of God on earth, provided they say good-bye to their idols of race and nationality, and treat one another as personalities. Leagues, mandates, treaties, like the one described by Mr. Keynes and Imperialisms, however draped in democracy, can never bring salvation to mankind. The salvation of man lies in absolute equality and freedom of all. We stand in need of a thorough overhauling of the aims of science which has brought so much misery to mankind and of a total abandonment of what may be called esoteric politics which is ever planning the ruin of less clever or weaker races.

That Muslim peoples have fought and conquered like other peoples, and that some of their leaders have screened their personal ambition behind the veil of religion, I do not deny; but I am absolutely sure that territorial conquest was no part of the original programme of Islam. As a matter of fact, I consider it a great loss that the progress of Islam as a conquering faith stultifed the growth of those germs of an economic and democratic organization of society which I find scattered up and down the pages of the Quran and the traditions of the Prophet. No doubt, the Muslims succeeded in building a great empire, but thereby they largely repaganized their political ideals, and lost sight of some of the most important potentialities of their faith. Islam certainly aims at absorption. This absorption, however, is to be achieved not by territorial conquest but by the simplicity of its teaching, its appeal to the common sense of mankind and its aversion to abstruse metaphysical dogma. That Islam can succeed by its inherent force is sufficiently clear from the Muslim missionary work in China, where it has won millions of adherents without the help of any political power. I hope more than twenty years' long study of the world's thought has given me sufficient training to judge things impartially.

The object of my Persian poems is not to make out a case for Islam; my aim is simply to discover a universal social reconstruction, and in this endeavour, I find it philosophically impossible to ignore a social system which exists with the express object of doing away with all the distinctions of caste, rank and race; and which, while keeping a watchful eye on the affairs of this world, fosters a spirit of unworldliness so absolutely essential to man in his relations with his neighbours. This is what Europe lacks and this is what she can still learn from us.

One word more. In my notes which now form part of your Introduction to *Asrar-i-Khudi*, I deliberately explained my position in reference to Western thinkers, as I thought this would facilitate the understanding of my views in England. I could have easily explained myself in the light of the Quran and Muslim Sufis and thinkers, e.g., Ibn Arabi and Iraqi (Pantheism), Wahid Mahmud (Reality as a Plurality), Al-Jili (the idea of the Perfect

Man) and Mujaddid Sarhindi (the human person in relation to the Divine Person). As a matter of fact, I did so explain myself in my Hindustani Introduction to the first edition of the *Asrar*.

I claim that the philosophy of the *Asrar* is a direct development out of the experience and speculation of old Muslim Sufis and thinkers. Even Bergson's idea of time is not quite foreign to Sufis. The Quran is certainly not a book of metaphysics, but it takes a definite view of the life and destiny of man, which must eventually rest on propositions of a metaphysical import. A statement by a modern Muslim student of philosophy of such propositions, especially when it is done in the light of religious experience and philosophy invoked by that great book, is not putting new wine in old bottles. It is only a restatement of the old in the light of the new. It is unfortunate that the history of Muslim thought is so little known in the West. I wish I had time to write an extensive book on the subject to show to the Western student of philosophy how philosophic thinking makes the whole world kin.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(2)

Introductory Note

This letter was addressed to Saıdar M.B. Ahmad, Income Tax and Excess Proflts Tax Consultant, Bombay.

Sialkot City
27th August 1922

Dear Sir,

I am afraid my knowledge of Germany has already become rusty. It is now 13 years ago that I was in Germany. Since then that country has passed through one of the most tremendous wars known to history, and is now passing through one of the greatest financial crises in the economic history of the world. I believe the institutions of Germany have undergone great changes. You should seek guidance from a man who has recently returned from Germany. All that I can tell you is that I presented my thesis to the university of Munich, the authorities of which exempted me from keeping the usual residence in the university. They further permitted me to write my thesis in English. Ordinarily German universities require the attendance of lectures for 3 years or 18 months as the case may be. This depends upon the previous attainments of the candidate. They also generally require the dissertation in Latin or German. They, however, exempted me because of the recommendations of my Professor at Cambridge. The Ph.D. Examination was oral and the medium of it was German which I picked up during my stay in Germany.

Yours etc.
Muhammad Iqbal

(3)

Introductory Note

This letter is addressed to the late Professor M.M. Sharif in reply to his letter dated 17 February 1926. Professor Sharif was then in the department of philosophy, Muslim University, Aligarh. Later, he became Director of Institute of Islamic Culture, Lahore. He died in 1966. He is the author of several books and editor of 2-volume ***History of Muslim Philosophy***, sponsored by the Government of Pakistan.

Sialkot City
27th August 1922

My dear Mr. Sharif,

I am afraid I am unable to answer your questions. But I believe there is intellectual activity especially in Egypt and Philosophy is still studied in Muslim countries as a part of theology. I cannot say whether our schools most of which are conducted on old line refer to western philosophy or not. But I understand some of the books of modern philosophy are translated into Arabic (e.g. Nietzsche's *Dawn of the Day* كتاب الفجر). I am told that the book was translated by somebody in Mesopotamia but I have not seen it myself. As far as I know the *ulama* have not yet made any attempt to reconstruct Muslim thought in the light of modern Philosophy but in view of recent happenings in the world of Islam

such developments are expected. The abolition of *Khilafat* has led some thinkers in Egypt to reflect on the Quran in reference to the problem of constitution. Philosophical questions are likely to arrive when the political unrest of Islam is over. Please excuse my writing on the back of your letter. I thought you would like to refer to your questions.

Yours
Muhammad Iqbal

(4)

Introductory Note

This letter was written to Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan (1867-1930), Secretary, All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference, Aligarh. He was member of the Indian Council and later became Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University.

The Sahibzada had prepared a Note on the introduction of Islamic Studies as a subject in the University and circulated it among prominent Muslims to elicit their opinion. In this letter Iqbal gives his views on the subject.

Sialkot City
4th June 1925

My dear Sahibzada,

I have read with great interest your excellent Note on Islamic Studies to which, it seems, you have given a great deal of thought and attention. The subject has to be looked at from various points of view and in reference to the birth or rather rebirth of humanism in the world of Islam today. However, I beg to offer a few stray thoughts which have come to me. Before I proceed further I would state the object of what you call Islamic Studies as follows:

1. To educate and train well-qualified theologians, divines, etc. (This is your first object on page 4 of your letter and I fully agree with it).
2. To produce scholars who may, by their researches in the various branches of Muslim literature and thought, be

able to trace genetically the continuity of intellectual life between Muslim culture and modern knowledge. This requires a little more elucidation. The political fall of Islam in Europe unfortunately took place, roughly speaking, at a moment when Muslim thinkers began to see the futility of deductive science and were fairly on the way to building inductive knowledge. It was practically at this time that Europe took up the task of research and discovery. Intellectual activity in the world of Islam practically ceased from this time and Europe began to reap the fruits of the labours of Muslim thinkers.

The Humanist movement in Europe was due to the forces set free by Muslim thought. It is not at all an exaggeration to say that the fruits of modern European humanism in the shape of modern science and philosophy are in many ways only a further development of Muslim culture. Neither the European nor the Mussalman of today realises this important fact because the extant works of Muslim thinkers still lie scattered and unpublished in the libraries of Europe, Asia and Africa.

The ignorance of the Mussalmans of today is so great that they consider thoroughly anti-Islamic what has in the main arisen out of the bosom of their own culture. If, for instance, a Muslim savant knew that something like the theory of Einstein was seriously discussed in the scientific circles of Islam (Abul Ma'ali quoted by Averroes), the present theory of Einstein would appear to him less outlandish. Again his antipathy to modern inductive logic would be very much diminished if he knew that the whole system of modern Logic started from Razi's well-known objection to deductive logic of Aristotle.

The production of such scholars is absolutely necessary as they alone can help in the assimilation of modern knowledge.

3. To turn out Muslim scholars well-versed in the various aspects of Muslim History, Art, General Culture and Civilisation. (This is really your third object mentioned on page

4 of your letter, which I have a bit narrowed by excluding science and philosophy from its scope.) This will include your object No. 2.

4. To produce scholars who may be fitted to carry on researches in the legal literature of Islam. As you know, our legal literature, a good deal of which is still unpublished, is simply enormous. In my opinion it should be treated as a separate branch of Muslim learning. (By law I mean the law relating to *fiqh* only).

It is in the light of these general considerations that we should devise a scheme of Islamic Studies in the Muslim University at Aligarh.

I will now proceed to consider the practical aspect of the matter:

The Study of Muslim Theology: Our first object in which we both agree is the training of well-qualified theologians to satisfy the spiritual needs of the community.

But the spiritual needs of a community change with the expansion of that community's outlook on life. The change in the position of the individual, his intellectual liberation and infinite advance in natural sciences have entirely changed the substance of modern life so that the kind of scholasticism or theological thought which satisfied a Muslim in the Middle Ages would not satisfy him today. This does not mean an injury to the spirit of religion. But it certainly contradicts traditional view. If rejuvenation of Muslim life and the regaining of original depths are desirable then a rebuilding of theological thought is absolutely necessary. The vision of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan on this point, as on many others, was almost prophetic. As you know he himself undertook the task, which did not, and could not, prosper because it was mainly based on the philosophical thought of a bygone age. I am afraid I cannot agree with your suggested syllabus in Muslim Theology (para 4 of your letter). In my opinion it is perfectly useless to institute a school of Muslim Theology on older lines unless it is your object to satisfy the more conservative portion of our community. Spiritually, the older theology is, generally speaking, a set of worn-

out ideas; educationally, it has no value in view of the rise of new, and restatement of old problems. What is needed today is intellectual activity in fresh channels and the building of a new theology and *Kalam*. This can obviously be done by men who are properly equipped for such a task. But how to produce such men?

I fully agree with you in your suggestion that a system be devised for utilising the best material from Deoband and Lucknow. But the point is: what would you do with these men after having trained them up to the Intermediate standard? Would you make them B.A.'s and M.A.'s after the suggestion of Sir Thomas Arnold? I am sure that so far as the study and development of theological thought is concernced they will not serve your purpose.

These Deoband and Lucknow men who disclose a special aptitude for theological thinking should, in my opinion, be given a thorough grounding in modern thought and science before you allow them to pass through Arnold's course, which, for their purpose, will have to be very much shortened. After completing their study of modern thought and science they may be required to attend lectures on such subjects in Arnold's course as have a direct bearing on their special study, e.g. sects of Islam and Muslim Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy. With this equipment they may be made University Fellows to give original lectures on Muslim Theology, *Kalam* and *Tafsir*. Such men alone will be able to found a new school of Muslim Theology in the University and serve our object No. 1. My suggestion, therefore, is that if you wish to satisfy the more conservative portion of our society you can start with a school of theology on older lines as suggested in para 4 of your letter but your ultimate aim must be gradually to displace it by the work of original thinkers produced in the manner I have suggested.

Coming now to our second object, those among the Lucknow and Deoband men who disclose a special aptitude for purely scientific research should be given a thorough grounding in Mathematics, Science or Philosophy according to their respective aptitudes. After having completed their study in modern science and thought they may be permitted to pass through Arnold's course, which will have to be shortened for their purpose also.

For instance, a man who has studied Physical Science only should be called upon to attend lectures on "Science in the Muslim World", Arnold's No. 3 in the M. A. course. You can then make him a University Fellow to devote all his time to researches in the particular science he has studied.

Coming to our third object, Arnold's full course should be opened to those who do not happen to possess a special aptitude for science or philosophy but want general training in the principles of Muslim culture and civilisation. But this need not be confined to men from Deoband or Nadwa only. Your own University men with a better knowledge of Arabic may take it up. I would find a place for Muslim art and architecture in this course.

Comlng to our fourth object, i.e. the study of Muhammadan Law and Legal History, we should pick up more brilliant men from Deoband and Lucknow who happen to possess a legal mind and disclose a special aptitude for legal subtleties. In view of the fact that the whole system of Muhammedan Law stands in need of constructive readjustment we should give them a thorough grounding in modern jurisprudence and principles of legislation and perhaps also in modern Economics and Sociology. You can make them LL.B.'s if you like and then permit them to pass through Arnold's course, which will have to be shortened in their case also. For instance, they may be required to attend lectures on such subjects as Muslim Political Theory and Development of Muslim Jurisprudence. Some of them may be allowed to take up the profession of law. Others may accept your University Fellowship and devote themselves to legal research work. The present state of the administration of Muhammedan Law in this country is simply deplorable and there are difficulties which can be solved through legislative agencies only. Muhammedan professional lawyer thoroughly well-grounded in the principles of Muhammedan Law will be of the greatest help both in court and council.

Briefly, my suggestions are: I accept the course of study suggested by Sir Thomas Arnold. But the whole of it should be opened only to those candidates who do not disclose a special aptitude for Law, Theology and Science. In so far as the study of Theology is concerned, I allow your suggestions (Para 4 of your

letter) but consider it is only a tentative measure to be displaced eventually by the work of original thinkers, who shall have to be trained in the manner I have suggested in the course of my letter. For these men as well as for those who take up the study of Law and Special Science, Arnold's course will have to be shortened according to their needs. It is hardly necessary here to point out that a workable knowledge of German and Freneh is absolutely necessary for those who take up the study of Muslim thought, literature, art, history and even of Theology.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(5)

Introductory Note

Iqbal issued a Statement on "Qadianism and Orthodox Muslims," in 1934 which was published in several papers in India, including the *Statesman.* Iqbal tried to explain to the Muslims and non-Muslims alike the sociological implications of this movement for the unity and integrity of Muslim *millat*. The statement was mis-understood by the non-Muslims because in those days the Qadianis were trying to woo the Congress people. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru wrote a series of articles in the *Modern Review*, Calcutta, in their defence and criticised Iqbal, who, in reply, wrote a very brilliant analysis of the genesis and role of the Ahmadism *vis-a-vis* Islam and vis-a-vis freedom movement in the land.

The *Statesman* after publishing the first article of Iqbal in its issue of 14 May, criticised it in its leader. This letter of Iqbal is a reply to *Statesman's* criticism of Iqbal.

Sir,

I am very thankful to you for your critical leader on my statement which was published in your issue of the 14th May. The question which you have raised in your leader is a very important one, and I am really very glad that you have raised it. I did not raise it in my statement because I felt that, considering the separatist policy of the Qadianis, which they have consistently pursued

in religious and social matters ever since the birth of the idea of building a new community on the foundation of a rival prophethood and the intensity of the Muslim feeling against this move, it was rather the duty of the Government to take administrative cognizance of such a fundamental difference between the Qadianis and the Muslims without waiting for a formal representation on behalf of the Muslim community of India. I was encouraged in this feeling by the government's attitude in the matter of the Sikh community which till 1919 was not administratively regarded as a separate political unit, but which was later treated as such without any formal representation on the part of the Sikhs, in spite of the Lahore High Court's finding that the Sikhs were Hindus.

However, now that you have raised this question I should like to offer a few observations on a matter which I regard as of the highest importance both from the British and the Muslim points of view. You want me to make it perfectly clear whether, when or where I can tolerate official cognizance of any one community's religious differences. Let me point out:

First, that Islam is essentially a religious community with perfectly defined boundaries—belief in the Finality of Muhammad's Prophethood. The last mentioned belief is really the factor which accurately draws the line of demarcation between Muslims and non-Muslims, and enables one to decide whether a certain individual or group is a part of the community or not. For example, the Brahmos believe in God, they also regard Muhammad (on whom be peace) as one of the Prophets of God, yet they cannot be regarded as part and parcel of Islam because they, like the Qadianis, believe in the theory of perpetual revelation through Prophets and do not believe in the Finality of Prophethood in Muhammad. No Islamic sect, as far as I know, has ever ventured to cross this line of demarcation. The Bahais in Iran have openly rejected the principle of Finality, but have at the same time frankly admitted that they are a new community and not Muslims in the technical sense of the word. According to our belief, Islam as a religion was revealed by God, but the existence of Islam as a society or nation depends entirely on the personality of the Holy

Prophet. In my opinion, only two courses are open to the Qadianis: either frankly to follow the Bahais or to eschew their interpretations of the idea of Finality in Islam and to accept the idea with all its implications. Their diplomatic interpretations are dictated merely by a desire to remain within the fold of Islam for obvious political advantages.

Secondly, we must not forget the Qadianis' own policy and their attitude towards the world of Islam. The founder of the movement described the parent community as "rotten milk" and his own followers as "fresh milk", warning the latter against mixing with the former. Further, their denial of fundamentals, their giving themselves a new name (Ahmadis) as a community, their non-participation in the congregational prayers of Islam, their social boycott of Muslims in the matter of matrimony, etc., and above all their declaration that the entire world of Islam is *kafir*—all these things constitute an unmistakable declaration of separation by the Qadianis themselves. Indeed the facts mentioned above clearly show that they are far more distant from Islam than Sikhs from Hinduism, for the Sikhs at least intermarry with the Hindus, even though they do not worship in the Hindu temples.

Thirdly, it does not require any special intelligence to see why the Qadianis, while pursuing a policy of separation in religious and social matters, are anxious to remain politically within the fold of Islam. Apart from the political advantages in the sphere of Government service which accrue to them by remaining within the fold of Islam, it is obvious that in view of their present population, which, according to the last census, is fifty-six thousand only, they are not entitled even to a single seat in any legislature of the country and cannot, therefore, be regarded as a political minority in the sense in which you seem to be using the expression. The fact that Qadianis have not so far asked for separation as a distinct political unit shows that in their present position they do not find themselves entitled to any representation in legislative bodies. The new constitution is not without provisions for the protection of such minorities. To my mind, it is clear that in the matter of approaching the Government for separation the Qadianis will never take the initiative. The Muslim community is perfectly

justified in demanding their immediate separation from the parent community. If the Government does not immediately agree to this demand, the Indian Muslims will be driven to the suspicion that the British Government is keeping the new religion in store, as it were, and delaying the separation because in view of the small number of its adherents, it is, for the present, incapable of functioning as a fourth community in the province which may effectively damage the already marginal majority of Punjab Muslims in the local legislature. The Government did not wait for a formal representation for separation by the Sikhs in 1919; why should they wait for a formal representation by the Qadianis?

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(6)

Introductory Note

The letter was written in connection with the Qadiani controversy. It seems strange that Iqbal had a soft corner for Jawahar Lal Nehru—probably because both belonged racially to Kashmir. In a Statement issued by Iqbal on 8 October 1933 about the role of Muslim Delegates to the Round Table Conference, Iqbal said, "I have never had the pleasure of meeting Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, though I have always admired his sincerity and outspokenness. His latest statement . . . has a ring of sincerity which is rare in the pronouncements of present day politicians in India" (S.A. Vahid, op. cit., pp. 362).

Javid Nama was published in 1932. In it, Iqbal has referred to the two Nehrus, father and son, in very glowing terms, words which Iqbal did not write about any Hindu political leader. The Kashmiri poet, Ghani, is made to say:

> Who gave to India this yearning for freedom?
> Those scions of Brahmin, with vibrant breasts,
> keen of eye, mature and strenuous in action . . .
> Their origin is from this attractive soil* of ours,
> the rising-place of the stars is our Kashmir.

But, as events developed and Iqbal experienced Nehru's narrow-minded outlook, obstinacy and short-sightedness, he was

*This translation is Arberry's. But in this line he has wrongly translated the word دامنگیر (attractive) by 'protesting'. See his English translation, p. 121.

totally disillusioned. For it see Sayyid Nadhir Niazi, *Iqbal Kai Hudur*, pp. 106, 137, etc.; Ashiq Batalvi, *Iqbal Kai Akhri Do Sal*, first ed., pp. 146 ff.

21st June 1936

(6)

My dear Pandit Jawahar Lal,

Thank you so much for your letter which I received yesterday. At the time I wrote in reply to your articles I believed that you had no idea of the political attitude of the Ahmadis. Inded the main reason why I wrote a reply was to show, especially to you, how Muslim loyalty had originated and how eventually it had found revelational basis in Ahmadism. After the publication of my paper I discovered, to my great surprise, that even the educated Muslim had no idea of the historial causes which had shaped the teachings of Ahmadism. Moreover, your Muslim advisers in the Punjab and elsewhere felt perturbed over your articles as they thought you were in sympathy with the Ahmadiyya movement. This was mainly due to the fact that the Ahmadis were jubilant over your articles. The Ahmadi Press was mainly responsible for this misunderstanding about you. However I am glad to know that my impression was erroneous. I myself have little interest in theology but had to dabble in it a bit in order to meet the Ahmadis on their own ground. I assure you that my paper was written with the best of intentions for Islam and India. I have no doubt in my mind that the Ahmadis are traitors both to Islam and to India.

I was extremely sorry to miss the opportunity of meeting you in Lahore. I was very ill in those days and could not leave my room. For the last two years I have been living a life practically of retirement on account of continued illness. Do let me know when you come to the Punjab next. Did you receive my letter regarding your proposed Union for Civil Liberty? As you do not acknowledge it in your letter I fear it never reached you.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(7)

Introductory Note

This letter is addressed to Major Sa'ed Muhammad Khan, a friend of Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar at Aligarh. He wanted to establish a military school after the name of Iqbal.

The letter, however, bears no date, but as Iqbal refers to his visit to South India, it means it must have been written after 1929 or 1930.

My dear Major,

Many thanks for your letter. To name a military school after a mere versifier does not seem proper.

I suggest that you name your school after Sultan Tipu. The grave of this brave soldier, as I saw in South India, looked more alive than many of us who live or pretend to live.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(8)

Introductory Note

This letter was addressed to the late Dr. Hadi Husain of the Muslim University, Aligarh. One of his pupils, Dr. S Y. Hashmi, had attempted a translation of *Khidr-i Rah* into English, a specimen of which was sent to Iqbal for opinion. This translation is in the Iqbal Acadamy's library.

Lahore
2 February 1924

My Dear Sir,

Thanks for your letter. I have read parts of your pupil's work which is, indeed, very interesting and highly creditable to him. I some times feel that I have made a mistake in publishing the اسرار خودی [*Asrar-i Khudi*] for the doctrine of self is not an easy thing to understand, and depends for its grasp more on personal spiritual experience than on logical reasoning. I am, however, glad to see from your pupil's work that there are at least some who are on the way to a clear grasp of it.

I am sure that if your pupil reads پیام مشرق [*Payam-i Mashriq*] (especially the رباعیات, quatrains) and the parts of رموز بے خودی [*Rumuz-i Bekhudi*] which deal with the nature of the relation of the individual and society, and the character of collective life, he

will secure an insight into my general theory of life, both human and Divine. The ideas I have ventured to clothe in words are very farreaching and the mind sees into their breadth and meaning only gradually. In my own case it has taken not less than fifteen long years. He has talked somewhere of the merging of the finite into the infinite. My ideal of human Personality—i.e. finite personality —is nowhere better expressed than in a Persian verse which an old Persian poet wrote on the Prophet:

موسیٰ ز ہوش رفت بہ یک جلوۂ صفات
تو عین ذات می نگری ، در تبسمی[1]

This is my ideal of the unshakeableness of the individual Personality—even before the Infinite. In the whole range of Muslim literature there is not one verse like it, and these two lines enclose a whole infinitude of ideas. I do not know whether the poet was himself conscious of what he was saying, but it is not necessary to discover this for our purpose. In my opinion, immortality has no meaning if it does not mean the continuation of finite personality:

ز خود گذشتہ ای اے قطرۂ محال اندیش!
شدن بہ بحر و گہر بر نخاستن ننگ است[2]

This is the view of man which, I think, underlies the whole teaching of the Qur'an, and this is what modern Islam has to re-learn.

I feel impelled by some irresistible force to show up the inner richness of this idea to the younger generation of Islam to-day in all its bearings on life here and hereafter. I feel I have touched the hidden wound of the Muslims of today, and hope to be able to tell them: "thou ailest here". I am fully conscious of the seriousness of my task and hope that those who read me also realise the responsibility that lies on their shoulders.

Please show this letter to your pupil as it is mainly meant for him. As to his language, I am afraid, it needs revision both in the Introduction, and the translations. I have no objection to his publication of his Essay but I would advise him to show his work

to somebody who is able to help him in the matter of expression which is here and there inaccurate and even incorrect. The translation should be carefully revised and put in more poetic form. I do not mean metre at all, but I do mean that when poetry is rendered into prose the translator should see that his prose does not lack the flavour of poetry.

Further there are some Persian expressions which, he thinks, I have coined, e.g. گل دورو ، پردۂ تقدیر or جہان بین. These are common Persian expressions which he will find in any Persian dictionary. The manuscripts will be returned in a day or two.

Thanking you and your pupil for all the kind words said of me in his Introduction.

Yours etc.
Muhammad Iqbal

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1. Iqbal has translated this verse in *Reconstruction* :
   Moses fainted away by a mere surface illumination of Realty ;
   Thou seest the very substance of Reality with a smile.
2. O drop, thinking of an unattainable ideal,
   thou hast passed beyond thyself :
   it is shameful to dive into the sea
   and get back without getting a pearl.

(9)

Introductory Note

This letter was addressed to Mr. (later Justice) A.R. Changez who was then a student at the Muslim University, Aligarh. Distressed by the rise of sectarianism among Muslims of the sub-continent, Mr. Changez had decided to set up a body with a view to checking this dangerous tendency.

Lahore
21st October 1925

Dear Mr. Changez,

Thanks for your letter which I received yesterday. I am afraid I cannot disclose yet what I feel or think about the subject of your letter. But I can tell you this much that I started a society of this kind some time ago, exactly on the lines you suggested. As a matter of fact I went much further than you in the matter of toleration. But for various reasons, which is not possible to be described in this letter, the Society remained a kind of private institution only. It is, however, clear that in the deeper consciousness of Islam the demand for a reunion of Muslim sects is shaping itself. It is my belief that a society of this kind may be able to do some spade work, but the reuniting of the sects is really the work of a great personality rather that of a society. The President of such a society now has to be evolved, not to be elected. This is

one of the reason why our society remained a private institution only. At any rate, I soon discovered my own short-coming and lost the enthusiasm that I originally had for it. The truth is that the wrangling of sects is mainly due to the Muslims' loss of touch with the living fountain of religious life. At present I do not feel I am a fit person to lead this movement. But it may be that this is the kind of work that I have eventually got to do. I have full sympathy with you but request you not to make me your President, at least for the present. I hope that your society is not the result of your personal friendship (Excuse a bit of cruel psychology), but has arisen out of a living experience of the soul. I shall be always ready with my advice in case you need it.

Yours etc.
Muhammad Iqbal

(10)

Introductory Note

Khwaja Abdul Wahid was very much interested in religious and cultural problems of the Muslims and to this purpose he devoted a major part of his life in Lahore. He has now decided to settle in Karachi. He had an idea of establishing an Association to bring about awakening among the Muslim intelligentsia and requested Iqbal to be its Chairman, an offer which Iqbal accepted after great hesitation.

Iqbal, in this letter, informed Khwaja Sahib that Dr. Zafarul Hasan (Department of Philosophy, Muslim University, Aligarh) was thinking on the same lines and therefore he be also consulted. After exchange of a few letters, Dr. Hasan wrote that as such matters could not be thrashed out by correspondence, he was sending two of his pupils to Lahore for discussion. The two pupils were the late Dr. M.M. Ahmad, who later became Chairman, Department of Philosophy, Karachi University, and Dr. B. A. Faraqi, the author of ***Mujjadad's Conception of Tauhid***. It was on the arrival of these gentlemen that Iqbal wrote this letter.

A form was prepared by the Association which each member was to sign. It is reproduced here in original after the letter.

My dear Khwaja Wahid,

These gentlemen came from Aligarh to talk about the matter about which you wrote to Sayyid Zafar Hasan of Aligarh. Perhaps you and your friends would like to have a talk with them. If so, please come to my place any time in the evening. You can bring your friends who are in sympathy with you.

Yours
Muhammad Iqbal

(۱) ہندوستان میں مسلمانوں کے عروج و اقبال
کے حصول کے لئے جو جماعت قائم کی گئی ہے۔ میں
اس کا رکن بننے کے لئے تیار ہوں۔ اور اس بات کا
عہد کرتا ہوں کہ امیر کی اطاعت قرآن و سنت کے
مطابق ہر حال اور ہر وقت میں بلا چون و چرا
کروں گا۔

(۲) میں متمنی ہوں کہ اس جماعت کی امارت
علامہ سر محمد اقبال مدظلہ کے دست مبارک میں ہو۔

دستخط

نام ____________

پتہ ____________

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1. I am willing to become a member of the Society that has been established to promote the renaissance of the Muslims in India and I pledge unqualified obedience to the Amir in all circumstances, subject to my loyalty to the Quran and the Sunna.

2. I wish that Allama Sir Mohammad Iqbal be the Amir of this society.

Signature

Name ____________

Address ____________

(11)

Introductory Note

This letter, addressed to the late Agha Khan, refers to a particular situation at the time of the second Round Table Conference.

It was unanimously decided by the Muslim delegates that they would not participate in the discussions of the Federal sub-committee, for, in their view, the scheme of Federation as envisaged by the British Government for India, was antagonistic to the interests of the Muslims. Probably, under pressure from some British Officers, some members of the delegation decided to take part in the proceedings of the sub-committee as a result of which Iqbal submitted his resignation.

In his Presidential Address to the annual session of the Muslim Conference held in Lahore in March 1932, Iqbal says, "The only thing which is a mystery to me and which will perhaps ever remain a mystery, is the declaration made on the 26th November, by our spokesmen in the Federal Structure Committee to the effect that they agreed to the simultaneous introduction of provincial autonomy and central responsibility. Whether this was due to their anxiety for conciliation and political advance of the country, or to some conflicting influences which operated on their minds, I cannot say. On the 15th of November, the day on which I dissociated (myself) from our delegation, Muslim delegates had decided not to participate in the discussions of the Federal Structure Committee. Why did they participate then in these discussions contrary to their own decision? . . . All that I can say is that the Muslim community considers the declaration a very great error . . .

I have reason to believe, and had suspected this some days before I dissociated myself from the delegation, that our spokesmen were badly advised by certain English politicians in rejecting the immediate introduction of responsible government in the provinces of British India. . . ."[1]

Tel. No.
Gerrard 7070

St. Jame's Palace
S. W. I.
16th November 1931

Your Highness,

It is with the greatest pain that I am writing this letter to you. I have watched the activities of our Muslim Delegation from the very beginning. Their secret rivalries, the intrigues or even disloyalty of some of the members have pained me very much. Disgusted with such behaviour I am extremely sorry to inform you that from today I shall have nothing to do with what must be described as a shadow cabinet of the Muslim Delegation.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

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1. K.K. Aziz, op. cit., pp. 87-88.

(12)

Introductory Note

This letter was addressed to Seth Abdullah Haroon who was a very active member of the Muslim Conference. It was he who sponsored the Pakistan movement long before the Muslim League adopted it as goal in 1940 at Lahore.

The second Round Table Conference ended on 31 December 1931. The prospects for the Muslims were not very encouraging. Seth Sahib wrote to Iqbal, after consulting the late Agha Khan, suggesting a meeting with the Viceroy and preparing a Memorandum regarding Muslim demands. Iqbal's letter is in reply to this letter of the Seth.

Iqbal was president of the Muslim Conference to be held in Lahore on 21 March 1932.

Lahore
16th January 1932

Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal,
Barrister-at-Law

My dear Seth Sahib,

Thanks for your letter which I received a moment ago. I am sorry to tell you that I felt extremely pessimistic about Muslim demands in England and that state of mind still continues.

Experience has taught me that very few men should be trusted.

As to your proposed deputation I do not wish to say anything for the present. As you know I shall be presiding over the deliberations of the coming Conference at Lahore. I must, I think, reserve my views as to what the Muslims of India should do now that their demands have received practically no attention from the Premier.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(13)

Introductory Note

Mr. Dia'd-din, who came to be called Barni, after the name of the famous historian, contemporary of Nizamu'd-din Awliya, at the suggestion of Khwaja Hasan Nizami, did not belong to the town Barn, but was a Punjabi by birth, though he passed the major part of his life in Bombay in government service. On partition he came to Karachi, where he died a few years back.

Mr. Diauddin met Iqbal with a letter of introduction from Khwaja Hasan Nizami. Later on he met Iqbal in Bombay when he visited Atiyya Begum. Mr. Diauddin has written some very excellent books. He translated into Urdu for the Iqbal Acadamy Atiyya Begum's book, *Iqbal*.

Sayyid Abdullah Brelvi, editor of *Bombay Chronicle*, had asked Mr. Diauddin to write an article on "Iqbal's concept of time and space", for the paper. Mr. Barni expressed his inability and suggested the name of Dr. G.M.D. Sufi who also refused. At this Mr. Barni wrote this letter.

The article: Space and Time in the history of Muslim Thought. was being written by Iqbal for Rhodes Lectures at the request of Lord Lothian. He says in one of his letters dated 17 December 1933: "I have accepted Lord Lothian's invitation. The subject on which I propose to write is: Space and Time in Muslim Thought. It is a difficult subject and involves a good deal of research on Mss which are yet unknown—at least some of them. Nor has yet any body written on them.... I have, therefore, written to Lord Lothian asking him whether Rhodes Trustees will permit me to deliver these lectures in the summer of 1934." See *Letters and Writings of Iqbal*, p. 35.

Dr. Sir Mohammad Iqbal
Lahore

Lahore
10th December 1933

Dear Mr. Barni,

Thank you so much for your letter. I really do not know what to say in reply to your kind letter.

I shall write on "Time and Space in the history of Muslim Thought". The date is not yet certain. They ask me to deliver my lectures in 1934.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(14)

Introductory Note

This is perhaps the only letter in English out of eight letters that Iqbal wrote to the late K. G. Sayyidain. I had the privilege of being his pupil at the Teachers' Training College at Muslim University, Aligarh during 1935, while he was Principal there. Later he became Director of Public Instruction, Kashmir State and then Educational Advisor to the Government of India. He was a great educationist, a noble spirit and a simple honest man. He had great love for Iqbal. When Iqbal went to Aligarh in 1935 to take his honorary degree in D.Litt., Mr Sayyidain invited him to tea at his residence. I was also among the invitees and the late Professor M. M. Sharif was also present. Iqbal called Ali Bukhsh to prepare his fresh ***hookah***; Mr Sayyidain got up and did the job himself.

The word "summary" in the letter refers to the summary of his proposed book: ***Educational Philosophy of Iqbal***, which was published after Iqbal's death.

Lahore
21st June 1936

My dear Sayyidain,

Thanks for your letter which I received a moment ago. Your summary is excellent and I have got nothing to add. My ضربِ کلیم [*Darb-i Kalim*] will, I hope, be published about the end of June

and I will send you an advance copy. This collection has a part devoted to تعلیم و تربیت [Education and Upbringing]. You may not find anything new in it, yet if it reaches you in time you may read the portion mentioned above.

I suppose you are aware of the educational implications of Leibnitz's monadism. According to him the monad (the mind of man) is a closed window incapable of absorbing external forces. My view is that the monad is essentially assimilative in its nature. Time is a great blessing لا تسبو الدھر، ان الدھر ھو اللہ. While it kills and destorys it also expands and brings out the hidden possibilities of things. The possibility of change is the greatest asset of man in this present surroundings.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(15)

Introductory Note

This letter was written to Mr. J.C. Beazley, then Chief Secretary to the Government of the Punjab. It was a recommendatory letter on behalf of Mr. Abdul Majid, some times editor of the monthly ***Pakistan Review***, Lahore.

Lahore
8th September 1929

I have great pleasure in certifying that I have known Mr. Abdul Majid, B. A., for a good long time. He is very intelligent and hardworking and what is more important, thoroughly reliable. He tells me that he has applied for a post in the secretariat (Junior clerkship). I have no doubt that he is quite fit for such a work and is sure to give entire satisfaction to his employers. I have no hesitation in recommending him to the authorities, and hope that he will succeed in securing the job. I may also add that he belongs to a respectable family of Lahore.

Muhammed Iqbal, M. L. C.
Barrister-at-Law

(16)

Introductory Note

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, the leader of the untouchables in India, in his presidential speech at the Bombay Presidency Depressed Classes Conference held at Yeola, Nasik District, on October 13, 1935, declared that the only solution of the problem of the untouchables was to sever their connection with Hinduism and to embrace any other religion.

Though it was more a political than a purely religious problem, the Muslims of the sub-continent tried to convince Dr. Ambedkar and others that they would benefit both politically and socially by embracing Islam. The leading ulama of the Muslim world and especially of Egypt took cognisance of this situation and decided to send a Mission to India to discuss suitable means for converting these classes to Islam.

On hearing of this report, Iqbal wrote a letter to the Rector of al-Azhar. Unfortunately the original text of this letter could not be traced but its summary as it appeared in the Egyptian daily *al-Balag* (25th. July, 1936) is reproduced below.

Recommendation of Iqbal to the Mission of al-Azhar

The only obstacle which the Egyptian Mission will meet with in India is the fact that the majority of the Untouchables live in Southern India and speak six different languages in none of which high religious ideas can be properly expressed. From this fact arises the difficulty of finding persons who are capable of translating the speeches of the learned Egyptian missionaries who will be

sent there. The Islamic Associations of India have not been able to solve the difficulty as yet.

It is however thought that the visit of Egyptian Missionaries to India will have a good influence on the Islamic movement and will infuse vigour into the Islamic Associations of India.

Iqbal made the following proposals to the Egyptian Mission to India:

1. Those who are sent should be goodlooking men who are able to expose the Islamic religion in the light of modern thought and experiences: they have to insist on the fact that Islam elevates the pagans of Africa to the level of civilized peoples.
2. It is necessary that they should behave in a manner that suits the fame of the Muslims of Egypt.
3. It is necessary that the Mission have a secretary to make propaganda in all parts of the Islamic world.
4. It is necessary that Mission on its return should take back a certain number of young Untouchables who have been converted to Islam, in order that they might study at al-Azhar for a time, so as to be transformed into true Muslims.

The writer ends his letter with the sad remark that the richest among the Muslims do not care at all for Islamic questions.

(17)

Introductory Note

William Rothenstein refers in his memoirs ***Men and Memoirs*** (3 volumes) to two letters of Iqbal. He did not however quote them in full but gave certain extracts from them. It is through Mr. Ashiq Batalvi's courtesy that these extracts were received from London.

The first letter seems to have been written in 1931 while the second during 1934-35.

First Letter

When in Paris I met Bergson. We had extremely interesting conversation on philosophical subjects. The subtance of of Berkeley's philosophy is that in perception matter reveals the whole of itself without a remainder; not so the case with the mind. This is a way of putting Berkeley. Our conversation lasted for two hours. Bergson is old and very ill. He does not see people, but was good enough to make an exception in my case. Unfortunately, the friend who accompanied him and made a record of the conversation, could not afterwards decipher his own handwriting. . . .

Second Letter

I am glad that you are keeping in touch with India. The great need of Asia is that the best minds of England should know her and understand the problems that arise out of her present awakening—problems on which, in my opinion, depends the whole

future of the British race and modern civilisation. As you know, literature is not and has never been a profession in India. Music and painting are professions to a certain extent; literature is not. I know this from personal experience. I have written something in the way of literature ; but I have to earn my daily bread at the Bar. Indeed my rivals and other interested persons have always carried on a propaganda against me on account of my literary pursuits and tried all sorts of means to prejudice the men in authority against me in order to ruin my carrer as a professional man. In this they have succeeded so far. Please excuse this personal reference. I should have never mentioned it to a less sympathetic mind. However, I am happy to know that as one of the leaders of modern art you are in touch with the Viceroy of India, who, I am sure, will appreciate the advice you give him from time to time. I hope to meet you again in 1935. The Rhodes Trustees have so kindly offered me through Lord Lothian the Rhodes lectureship. I shall have to deliver three or more lectures to the Oxford University. I was asked to come in April 1934; but it was not possible to do so for reasons which I wrote to Lord Lothian.

(18)

Introductory Note

From the Muslim League Records, as it is preserved in the Karachi University, it so appears that the annual session of the Muslim League was proposed to be held in Lucknow during October 1930 and Iqbal had decided to stay at the house of his old friend, Mr. Wasim, Bar-at-Law. But due to certain reasons the session was postponed to December of the same year and the venue was changed to Allahabad.

There are about 10 letters in this series out of which this one alone is in English. About 5 were written to Sayyid Shamsul Hasan, the then Assistant Secretary of the Muslim League, all dealing with different matters relating to the arrangement of the session. Four letters were addressed to Maulvi Muhammad Yaqub, including the present one.

Maulvi Muhammad Yaqub (b. 1879 in Muradabad) was president of the Muslim League in 1927, a member of the Legislative Assembly, 1924-38 ; Deputy leader of Jinnah's Independent Party in the Assembly. He was Honorary Secretary of the Muslim League, 1934-5. He was member of the Council of State from 1938 till his death in 1942.

I am grateful to my friend Dr. Mahmudul Hasan Siddiqi, Department of General History, University of Karachi, who helped me in getting these letters.

Lahore
4th August 1930

My dear Maulvi Sahib,

Thanks for your letter which I received yesterday. I received a letter from Lucknow a moment ago. Mr. Shamsul Hasan, Assistant Secretary of the Muslim League, informs me that the Reception Committee is making necessary preparations for the coming session. He further informs me that there is some truth in the information that I gave you in my last letter. It is advisable to postpone the session till October, i.e. till after the elections are over. If Dehli is not suitable, we may hold the session in Lahore in case Mr. Feroz Khan and others take interest in the matter. I think it does not matter if our representatives on the Round Table Conference have to start for London in the first week of October. They may not join the session. Our resolutions can be wired to them. Moreover, it is possible that the Round Table Conference may be postponed for more than a week. I heard some such rumour the other day. But you know better.[1]

Yours sincerely,
Muhammad Iqbal

to Maulvi Muhammad Yaqub

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1. During this period, "the Muslim League was in a moribund condition, though it continued to hold its annual sessions. In the 1930 session, when Iqbal presented his historic address, the League meeting did not have its quorem of 75 members. Hafiz Jullandhari, the famous poet, was asked to recite his poems, to keep those who were present entertained while the organisers got busy enrolling new members." See Pirzada, *Foundations* of *Pakistan*, I, p. lxvi.

Iqbal did not participate in the first Round Table Conference which ended on 19 January 1931.

(19)

Introductory Note

This very important letter of Iqbal reached me very late while I was in the Iqbal Academy and hence remained in my papers. Only recently I was able to discover it. Whatever new material I could then collect was published in *Iqbal Review* for October 1969 and January 1970.

This letter is addressed to S. Habib Ahmad Ali, c/o S. Hashmi Esq., Bugl-Kunta, Haiderabad (Deccan). It seems he was not personally known to Iqbal. He had asked him certain questions about Muslim Thought.

Lahore
10th July 1922

Dear Sir,

I am afraid it is not possible to answer your questions in a letter. Dr. Lucy's view is the one generally held in Europe. But the Muslim side of the question has yet to be worked out. I am sure the history of Muslim civilization has not yet been written. Much of the material is generally unknown or unpublished at present. The scholars of Europe have only touched the outer fringes of this most interesting phenomenon of what is called Muslim Civilization. You can read with advantage Von Kremer or Noeldke in German, especially Von Kremer's *History of Muslim Culture*. I think there is an English translation of the book also.

As to the development of mysticism or more popularly sufism, you may read Professor Brown's *History of Persian Literature*, Nicholson's book, *Mysticism and Arabian Poetry* (I am not sure of the title). You may also read my own book: *Development of Metaphysics in Persia*. You can have that book from Messrs. Luzac & Co., Oriental Booksellers, London. Later study has brought about some change in my views; but I think you will find it helpful. The best course for a student is to go on studying without forming a definite opinion for some time. Try also to read original Arabic books if you can read Arabic. The earliest work on sufism is, I think, كتاب الفجر—a book which will give you an idea of what Muslim Sufism is. There is no doubt that in its development Sufism received ideas which were foreign to its original nature. These ideas came from all sources—Egypt, India, Persia. But Dr. Lucy's view is very sweeping and betrays his total ignorance of the work that Muslims did in the field of thought. The Muslims no doubt studied Greek Philosophy but I am sure they outgrew it and finally laid the foundation of modern thought. Descartes' Method, which is supposed to be the foundation of modern philosophy, is so similar to the احیاء [*Ihya al-Ulum al-Din*] of Ghazali that one of the European historians of Philosophy (Lewis, I think) would have suspected Descartes of plagarism if the latter had known Arabic. Similarly the development of Inductive Logic in the Universities of Spain. But all these things have yet to be worked out and the material—still unused—is waiting for the man.

Yours faithfully
Muhammad Iqbal

(20)

Introductory Note

Below is given a letter to some body addressed as Mir. The identity of the person remains unknown so far. The original of this letter was presented by Sardar Rashid Ahmad to the Lahore Museum as reported in the *Pakistan Times* of 13 February 1969. This letter was published in the *Iqbal Review* of October 1969 and yet, very strangely, the learned editor of *Sahifa* says in its Iqbal Number, I, 29 (December 1973) pp. 190-91, that this letter was yet unpublished.

Lahore
10th February 1914

Dear Mir Sahib,

Your friend must put himself in correspondence with the Secretary, Advisory Committee, Lahore, if he wishes to proceed to England in March. He will have to go through the Committee and it is on Committee's recommendation that they will admit him there. He should send an application with two certificates from men of position, who are in a position to say that the applicant has been known to them for more than a year, and that he bears an excellent character.

When this application comes up before the Committee I shall see to it.

I have just written to the Secretary to send to a copy of the rules, if he has got spare copies.

Yours ever
Muhammad Iqbal

P.S. For the particulars about the journey etc. my knowledge has become rather antiquated.

Muhammad Iqbal

(21)

Introductory Note

The present letter is addressed to Mian Muhammad Shah Nawaz Khan, a very near relative of the late Mian Shah Din. It was written on the death of Mian Shah Din which occured on 2 July 1918 corresponding to 1336 A.H.

Iqbal wrote in the letter a verse for his tombstone which translated reads:

> A nightingale cried yesterday
> on Humayun's grave and said :
> we have a companion
> here in the wilderness.

Humayun was the late Shah Din's poetic *non de plume.* But this verse did not yield the needed chronogram and therefore Iqbal composed other verses for this purposc. See Abdullah Qureshi (ed.), *Baqiyat-i-Iqbal*, pp. 488-9.

Lahore
4th July 1918

"Sure they will like it.

دوش بر خاکِ ہمایوں بلبلی نالید و گفت:
اندریں ویرانہ ما ہم آشنائی داشتیم

Yours ever
Muhammad Iqbal

(22)

Introductory Note

These letters are addressed to Sayyid Shaukat Husain (1899-1949) who was educated at the Sheranwala school and Islamia College, Lahore and then at Aligarh. He was among the intimates of the late Maulana Muhammad Ali Jauhar whose biography he wrote.

On reading a criticism of Iqbal's poem in the *Oudh Punch*, which specialised in this form of criticism in those days, he wrote a letter to Iqbal and enclosed a cutting from the *Punch*. The present letter is in reply to this letter. The poem that was subject of criticism could not be traced. Two verses are quoted in Abdullah Qureshi, *Baqiyat*, p. 449.

Lahore
3rd January 1919

Sir,

Thanks for your sending the paper. I read it a few days ago, but do not think it worth while to reply. The poem was written 20 years ago and I do not know who has published it. It would have been only fair to me to ask my permission before doing so. But literary morality is unknown in this country and no body cares for the author whose mind and outlook are continually changing. In spite ot the fact that the poem is one of my earliest attempts, some of the criticism are based on misprints for which I cannot be

held responsible. The critic, however, has failed to see the real flaws of the poem. Poetry is something more than the mere correctness of idioms and expressions. My ideals are different to the critic's literary ideals. Poetry plays only a subordinate role in my utterances, and it is not my ambition to be classed among the poets of the day.

Yours truly
Muhammad Iqbal
Lahore

(23)

Lahore
6th January 1919

Dear Sir,

Thanks for your letter. I am glad you have been able to discover an earlier print of the poem. I retain no copy of the original. The poem is not free from faults, but I have no time to revise it. It is easier to write a new poem than to remould an old one. The faults of the poem are, however, psychological and in some cases those of expressions. Lucknow critics have yet to learn the principles of art criticism. However, I am glad to see that you are satisfied in this matter.

As to wrong (?) you have done me nothing of the kind.

Yours etc.
Muhammad Iqbal

(24)

Introductory Note

These two letters are addressed to Shaikh Ijaz Ahmad, Iqbal's nephew and deal mostly with personal matters. In the second letter Iqbal refers to the fact that he was trying to publish a collection of his scattered poems. ***Bang-i-Dara***, the first collection of Iqbal's Urdu poems, was published for the first time in 1924, about three years after this letter.

Metcalf House, Delhi
3rd March 1920

My dear Ijaz,

A moment ago, I posted a letter to you telling you of the probable date of my arrival in Lahore. I have, however, just received a letter from Mr. Jalaluddin, Barrister-at-Law, Lahore, asking me to stay in Delhi in connection with the Probate case. Please tell your aunt that I have been detained. Mirza Jalaluddin will reach Delhi on the 5th March and we shall have to stay till the 7th. I suppose your aunt knew of this possibility.

Hoping you are well

Yours affectionately
Muhammad Iqbal

(27)

Introductory Note

The following letter ts reproduced through the courtesy of the editor of *Nuqush*, Lahore, for September 1978 where it was published for the first time.

This letter was probably written during the period when the problem of Hindu-Muslim settlement was being discussed in all its ramifications. In March 1927, the famous Dehli Proposals were announced. They involved acceptance of Joint Electorates under certain eonditions.

In December 1927, the National Congress in its annual session at Madras accepted the Dehli Proposals as a basis of settlement, and the Muslim League in the same year endorsed them.

In November 1927, the British Government announced the appointment of a Royal Commission under Sir John Simon to recommend further constitutional reforms for the country. This announcement intensified political activity in the country. The Simon Commission came to India in February 1928 and in the same month the All-Parties Conference met at Dehli without coming to any definite decision.

On the arrival of the Simon Commission, the Muslim League split into two wings. One, under Jinnah, decided to boycott the Commission thus endorsing the decision of the National Congress. The other wing, under Sir Shafi, and to which Iqbal and others belonged, decided to co-operate with the Commission so that Muslim point of view should not suffer through default. The present letter was probably written to seek his advice in preparation

of the case. See Muhammad Ahmad Khan, ***Iqbal ka Siyasi Karnama*** (1st ed.), pp. 94-6 ; K.K. Aziz, op. cit., pp. 2-5.

Lahore
14th May 1928

My dear Din Muhammad,

I want to have a talk with you concerning a very important matter which affects the community as a whole. When are you coming to Lahore? Please let me know when you are coming. I shall be away from Lahore for 17th, possibly 18th also.

Yours (sincerely)
Muhammad Iqbal

(28)

Introductory Note

Mr. Smith was secretary of the Punjab Text Book Board, Lahore. The Board was revising the text books in Urdu for classes, 1, 2, 3. They wanted to include 4 poems of Iqbal and this letter of Iqbal was in reply to Mr. Smith's request for permission. See Faqir Wahiduddin, *Rozgar-i Faqir*, I, pp. 107-8.

Lahore
19th October 1924

My dear Mr. Smith,

Yes, you can include the poems mentioned in your letter in T.B. (Text Book) courses.

Yours
Muhammad Iqbal
Barrister

(29)

Introductory Note

This letter is addressed to the late Mirza Muhammad Sa'id, a great scholar of eminence. His book: ***Madhhab aur Batni Ta'lim***, is a piece of great scholarly research. He was among Iqbal's pupils at the Government College, Lahore.

Mr. Hamid Ahmad Khan was for some time Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Punjab and later Director, Board for Advancement of Literature, Lahore. He died in 1974.

Mr. Khan was seeking admission to M.A. classes in English and Iqbal gave him this recommendatory letter to Mirza Sahib while he was Professor of English in the Government College, Lahore.

Lahore
[October 1926]

My dear Said,

This is to introduce M. Hamid Ahmad Khan, B.A. of Osmania University. I hope you will do all that you can do for him.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(30)

Introductory Note

This letter is addressed to Khalifa Shaja' al-Din, a well-known figure of Lahore. He was a member of the Syndicate of the Punjab University and was for some time Speaker of the Punjab Assembly. When Muslim League was re-organised in the Punjab, Iqbal became its President, Khalifa Shaja' al-Din was the Vice-president.

Dr. Sir Iqbal, Kt., M.A., Ph.D.
Barrister-at-Law
Lahore

My dear Shuja-ud-Din,

I write this on behalf of M. Hamid Ahmad Khan who, I understand, is applying for a post in the Islamia College. I have met him several times and have had opportunities of judging his scholarly attaintments. I would advise the College Committee to appoint him. He is working at present in the Accounts Department. I have found him keenly interested in literature and philosophy and I have no doubt he will be quite a successful lecturer on English literature and Philosophy. Besides, unlike many Muslim youngmen of our day, he is very enthusiastic about the cultural history of Islam. I am sure his contact with Muslim youngmen will do them a lot (of) good.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(31)

Introductory Note

Mr. Abdul Ghani was a teacher in a College at Nagpur, Bharat. The letter is self-explanatory.

Lahore
15th March 1930

My dear Mr. Ghani,

Thank you so much for your kindly sending me your volume on Humayun as well as that on Babur. I find them interesting reading and I have no doubt that the series you have undertaken to write will supply a long-felt want. It is a great pleasure to me to see young scholars of India active in research work.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(32)

Introductory Note

Miss Margaret Farquharson founded National League in 1914, in order to help in the national war effort. After the war, it pioneered the struggle against Bolshevism. Its other object was to secure justice for the Muslim cause, in the sub-continent as well as in the Middle East. In one of his letters which Iqbal wrote to Miss Farquharson, he speaks about the work of the National League. He says:

> "We very much appreciate the great service that you and members of the League have rendered to us. I have been in touch with the English Press and feel more keenly than ever that the present moment is one of the great crises in the history of Britain and Islam. The problem before England is not one of India only. It involves the whole question of co-operation between the the East and the West. I am glad that England has seen the real issue."

In 1932 when Iqbal went to England to attend the third Round Table Conference, Miss Farquharson held a reception in his honour on November 24, 1932. While welcoming the guests and introducing Iqbal, she said:

> "We find in him the rare qualities of a man, with the vision of a poet to see far into the future, the insight and depth of the Philosopher to see the principles underlying

man's problems, and powers of man of action which made him also a member of the Round Table Conference.

"This is a unique occasion and members of both Houses of Parliament and diplomats of many countries, and many of our friends from the East are assembled to do him honour."

Lahore
22nd May 1932

My dear Miss Farquharson,

Thank you so much for your letter which I hasten to reply to as I am likely to be too busy for correspondence next week. Even in London last November some of us suspected that there were differences inside the Cabinet. However let us wait and see what comes out of it. Personally I am feeling very pessimistic about the future of India. The Bombay riots* which are still going on have upset me. My fear is that democracy in India will bring nothing in its wake but blood-shed which will only prepare ground for the kind of unrest which nobody will like to see developing in this country. Some people are beginning to think that India must pass through blood-shed to some sort of Soviet form. It is my belief that even the best informed Britisher does not quite realise what is going on beneath the surface of events. And the Indians who are promoted to high offices and thus come into closer contact with British policy are most of them job-hunters, and though in some cases clever are men of no vision. Let us however hope for the better. I am thinking of making another trip to Europe, North Africa and Turkey and Spain. In a month or two I hope to be able to decide the matter finally.

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*These riots which were engineered by the Hindus against the Pathan Muslims, were the result of Hindu conspiracy to frighten Muslims. In an Urdu letter to Maulvi Irfan of Khilafat Conference dated 8 June 1932, Iqbal expresses the same feelings about these riots. See *Anwar-i Iqbal*, p. 209.

Old Shaukat Ali has married a young English girl. He is now proceeding to America. The marriage has been the subject of much controversy in the Hindu press.

Hoping you are well and thanking you for all the work you are doing for the Muslims.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(33)

Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Kt.
MA., Ph.D.
Barrister-at-Law
Lahore

Lahore
3th October 1934

My dear Miss Farquharson,

I write this to introduce Major Sayyid Nazir Ali, A. D. C. to His Highness the Ruler of Bahawalpur. His Highness is proceeding to Europe and will visit England also. I wish the National League would give him a fitting reception and introduce him to English Aristocracy as well as to the Ministers of other States in England. His Highness rules one of the biggest States in India and is a decendant of the Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad, (and) is held in high esteem by the Muslims of India.

Hoping you are well

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(34)

Introductory Note

Sir Akbar Haidari needs no introduction for admirers of Iqbal. In 1910 when Iqbal visited Haiderabad, he stayed at his house and while writing an Introduction to his poem "Goristan-i Shahi", Iqbal was all praise for their hospitality. The present letter shows great regard in which Sir Akbar held Iqbal.

Mayo Road, Lahore
Dated the 13th June 1937

My dear Sir Akbar,

Your letter from London brought me a pleasant surprise, as I was not expecting any reply to my letter of April. It is very gratifying to hear that you are preserving my letters; but let me assure you that I attach a far greater value to your sympathy and affection than the value you so generously attach to my letters.

The weather in England must be very fine at this time of the year, and I hope it will have a good effect on your health, which is so much needed by those whom you served all your life. As for me, I have had enough of Europe. Its intense cold has given me the life of an invalid, which I have been living for the last three years. Some friends have suggested Germany and Austria for treatment, but I fear it is too expensive for me. Furthermore, it is unfair to my children that I should spend so much on myself in

my declining years, when my life work is practically finished. The only desire that is still pinching me is to make a pilgrimage, if possible to Mecca and from there to the grave of him whose infinite devotion to God has been a constant source of inspiration and consolation to me. The cast of my emotional life is such that I could not have lived a single moment without a strong faith in the immortality of the individual human consciousness. This faith has come to me from the Holy Prophet of Islam. Every atom of me is brimming with the feelings of gratitude to him, and my soul needs out-pouring, which is possible only at his grave. My pilgrimage, if God grants it to me, will be one of thanks-giving. Hoping you are well and returning to India soon.

Right Hon'ble Sir Akbar Hydari — Yours sincerely
Hyde Park, Knights Bridge — Muhammad Iqbal
London

(35)

Introductory Note

Mr. Fazli Karim was a student of the last year of MA classes in the Muslim University, Aligarh and was Secretary of Post-Graduate Philosophical Association. The letter to Iqbal was written on behalf of the Association, with the knowledge of Dr. Zafarul Hasan, the Chairman of the Department of Philosophy.

Fazli Karim belonged probably to Abbotabad and later practised law in the Frontier.

The letter does not bear any date but it was most probably written during June-August 1937.

My dear Fazli Karim,

Thanks for your letter which I received this morning. I suppose you and your friends do not know that for the last three years I have been living the life of an invalid and more recently the doctors have advised me not to do any reading and writing as my eyesight is getting bad. It is therefore impossible for me to undertake the kind of work you mention in your letter. Muslim philosophical literature is very extentive, but scattered in the libraries of Europe and the world of Islam. The circumstances are such that only a man of Prince Cattani's wealth can write a history of Muslim thought. A good deal of philosophical literature mostly in Mss. form has yet to be discovered. During the last three hundred years, the Muslim World has been intellectually mostly inactive, mainly because of political reasons; with the new life, the signs of which we see today, it is hoped that the type of scholarship

necessary for the kind of research you mean will develop. In India things are slightly different. The knowledge of Arabic language is gradually dying out and the Muslim educational institutions are not paying any special heed to it. The philosophical literature in Sanskrit is not so scattered as of Arabic, and the Hindu nation on account of their wealth, can afford the luxury of the philosophical studies. Personally I would like our young scholars to devote themselves to the study of Muslim Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, History and Jurisprudence. In the best interest of Islam, it is the study of these branches of knowledge which is needed today. This alone will bring modern Muslims into touch with the roots of modern knowledge, and we will make them appreciate the meaning of modern problems.

It seems, however, that you and your friends are mainly interested in metaphysics etc. If so, there is plenty of material relating to Muslim thought in India. Some time age I discovered it with great surprise that the latest work on the nature of time was published in India only in 1924. This was in Arabic.* If therefore you are interested in Muslim thought, you must impress on the authorities of your University the need of a more intensive study of Arabic. Many years ago, I suggested to the Muslim University a scheme to prepare scholars for research work in Islamic lore. Unfortunately nothing came out of it.

I do not wish to conceal from you the fact that after 30 years' study of modern metaphysics, I have lost the enthusiasm which philosophy aroused in me in my youth. However, in the present state of my ill-health I can be of some use to some young scholar and help him to understand the problems which stirred the emotion of our fathers. It is, however, necessary that such a scholar should possess good knowledge of Arabic, and have time to sit near my sick bed for some days.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

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*It refers most probably to Sayyid Barkat Ahmad's book in Arabic entitled : *Ittiqan fi mahiyyat al-zaman*. See Shaikh Ataullah (ed.), *Iqbalnamah*, I, pp. 122, 165, 168. For Urdu translation of this book by Sayyid Mahmud Ahmad Barkati, see *Iqbal Review* for July 1968, pp. 1-57.

(36)

Introductory Note

Dr. Reyazul Hasan, who retired from Pakistan Foreign service, is at present residing in Karachi. As a student of post-graduate classes in Economics in the Allahabad University, he took up the study of Economic Theory of Islam. In order to seek help from Iqbal he wrote him a letter. The present letter of Iqbal is in reply to it.

Lahore
29th May 1933

Dear Sir,

I am extremely sorry I have no time to read your essay. But I would suggest that you should make a careful study of the ideas of Mussolini. The essence of Islamic Economics is to render the growth of large capitals impossible. Mussolini and Hitler think in the same way. Bolshevism has gone to the extreme of abolishing capitalism altogether. In all aspects of life Islam always takes the middle course. Says the Quran (ii. 143):

و کذالک جعلنا کم امة و سطاً لتکو نو شہداء علی الناس و یکون الرسول علیکم شہیدا۔

[And thus We have made you an exalted nation that you may be the bearer of witness to the people and (that) the Messenger may be a bearer of witness to you.]

The subject of the شرائع of Islam is only a recent discovery in Europe. Its importance is likely to attract the attention of European scholars. Indeed some German scholars have already begun to work at it. You may also read with advantage a book called the ***Sociology of Islam.**** I forget the name of the author.

Yours truly
Muhammad Iqbal

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*The book is by Reuben Levy of University of London.

(37)

Introductory Note

The following letter is addressed to Lord Lothian who was a well-known liberal Peer. He was for some time editor of the monthly *Round Table* and then British Ambassador in the USA. In July 1938 while on a visit to India he delivered Convocation Address at the Muslim University, Aligarh. He took active part in the deliberations of the Round Table Conferences held in London (12 November 1930—November 1932).

He was a great admirer of Iqbal. It was through his efforts that Iqbal's *Lectures on Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (first published in Lahore in 1930) were printed by the Oxford University Press in 1934. In the Lahore edition there were six, while the Oxford edition contained seven, the seventh delivered to the Aristotelian Society, London.

It was, again, through his efforts that the Rhodes Trustees requested Iqbal to deliver a series of 3 or more lectures to the Oxford University. Iqbal decided to speak on the subject: Space and Time in Muslim Thought, but unfortunately, increasing ill health did not allow him to fulfil this assignment.

Lahore
17th March 1933

My dear Lord Lothian,

Thank you so much for your kind letter which reached me yesterday on my return from Dehli. I left London on the 30th of

December 1932 and after making some halt at Paris I left for Spain where I spent about three weeks. I reached India about the end of February. This is the reason why your letter reached me so late. I am so glad to learn that you liked my book of Lectures. Mr. Thomson Edward of Oxford to whom you had written wrote to me to the same effect and I have sent him two copies of the book. In case the Oxford University decides to print and publish these lectures I should like to make a few alterations here and there and perhaps add the lecture: Is Religion Possible? which I delivered to the Aristotelian Society in London. I had very interesting time in Spain and France. During my stay in Paris I met Bergson. Our conversation on Modern Philosophy and Civilization lasted for about two hours. Part of the time we talked on Berkeley on whose philosophy the French Philosopher made some very interesting observations.[1] In Spain I came into contact with many professors of Arabic who are enthusiastic about the culture of Islam. The Madrid University requested me to address the University on "Spain and the Intellectual World of Islam". My address was very much appreciated. Professor Asin, the well-known author of *Divine Comedy and Islam*, presided.[2] The new Government of Spain is aiming at turning Granda into a kind of cultural Mecca for the world of Islam. I think it is high time that England should take some serious interest in cultural side of Islam. As a matter of fact, Islam as an economic system is much more interesting and likely to suggest much more practical solutions of our present difficulties.

The White Paper is coming out today. The Muslims of India are extremely anxious about their position in the Centre.

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1. For a discussion with Bergson on Berkeley, see extract from Iqbal's letter to Sir William Rothenstein, given here. The relevant words are:

> The substance of Berkeley's philosophy is that in perception the matter reveals the whole of itself without a remainder; not so is the case with the mind. This is a way of putting Berkeley.

2. For details about the visit of Iqbal in Spain, see *Letters and Writings of Iqbal*, pp. 77-79. See also Shamloo, *Speeches and Statements of Iqbal*, pp. 189-190.

(38)

Introductory Note

Sir Thomas Arnold, a great scholar and Islamicist, died in 1930. He was teacher of Iqbal at the Government College, Lahore, for whom he had great affection. Iqbal's famous poem in *Bang-i Dara*, entitled "Nala-i Firaq" (Cry of Separation) was written on his dear teacher's return to England. When Iqbal was in London, he often visited Sir Thomas and could later testify to the great affection the whole family showed to him. This letter of condolence shows the deep feeling of sympathy.

Lahore
16th July 1930

My dear Lady Arnold,

It is impossible for me to tell you and Nancy of the terrible shock which came to us all when the news of the untimely death of Sir Thomas Arnold arrived in India. As you know he was loved by pupils and all those who came into contact with him otherwise. I know words expressive of grief can bring but little consolation to you; but I assure you that your grief is shared by people in England, India and all those countries where his work as a great Orientalist was known. Indeed his death is a great loss to British scholarship as well as to the world of Islam whose thought and literature he served with unabated zeal till the last moment of his earthly life. To me his loss is personal, for it was his contact that formed my soul and put it on the road to knowledge.

No doubt from our point of view that luminous flame of life is now extinguished, but it is my firm conviction that to those who, like him, devote their life to love and service, death means only 'more light'.

I earnestly pray that God may grant eternal peace to his loving soul and may give you and Nancy fortitude enough to bear with patience the loss caused by his untimely death.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(39)

Introductory Note

The letter here reproduced from ***Letters to India*** (published in London in 1908), is addressed to the wife of Mr. Alfred William Stratton who was Registrar of the University of the Punjab as well as Principal of Oriental College, Lahore, for some years, starting from 1899. He died in 1908.

Dear Madam,

It is impossible to forget him, so great is the intensity of the impressions which he has left upon our minds. It is no exageration to say that it was his personality alone which turned our attention to the American people and their noble and disinterested character. We in India do not make many distinctions; he was a Canadian but to us he was American. I believe it is through Dr. Stratton's influence that some people here are thinking of joining American Universities, and I am one of them.

(40)

Introductory Note

On October 3, 1931, a letter under the caption: Pan-Islamic Plotting, was printed in the columns of the London *Times*. The letter was by the notoriously biassed Britisher Edward Thompson who through malice attributed perfectly wrongly to Iqbal the statement that Pakistan would be injurious to the interest of Muslims. Jawahar Lal Nehru was indeed happy to quote his statement in his *Discovery of India* (Calcutta, March 1946), p. 419. The letter reads:

> The accusation of 'Pan-Islamic Plotting' which you deplore in the leading article entitled: Indian Minorities, in your issue of September 29, has its source in such statements as this, in Sir Muhammad Iqbal's Presidential Address to the All-India Muslim League last December. In the printed report it is set in italics, lest anyone should miss it:
>
> > I would like to see the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind, Buluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-Government within the Britisn Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to be the final destiny of Muslims, at least of North-West India.
>
> Anyone who asks that the Hindu case (which has been shockingly mismanaged) be given fair consideration, is branded as anti-Muslim. So let me say that I admire the democracy which the Agha Khan finds in Islam as opposed to Hinduism, and I think he might have gone further (had not courtesy restrained

him) and pointed out Islam's great superiority to Christianity in its practice of human brotherhood. And I am not arguing against the establishing of Muslim 'communal provinces' in North-West India. But what Sir Muhammad Iqbal demands is a confederation 'within or without' the Indian Federation.

Look at the map and see what sort of defendible frontier would be left to the rest of India.

Dr. Edwards Thompson
Boarshill, Oxford

In reply to it, Iqbal wrote a letter to the *Times* which was published in its issue of 12 October, 1931, on p. 8.

Sir,

Writing in your issue of October 3 last, Dr. E. Thompson has torn the following passage from its context in my Presidential Address to the All-India Muslim League of last December in order to serve as evidence of 'Pan-Islamic Plotting':

> I would like to see the Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan amalgamated into a single State. Self-government within the British Empire or without the British Empire, the formation of a consolidated North-West Indian Muslim State appears to me to be the final destiny of the Muslims, at least of North-West India.

May I tell Dr. Thompson, in this passage I do not put forward a 'demand' for a Muslim State outside the British Empire, but only a guess at the possible outcome in the dim future of the mighty forces now shaping the destiny of the Indian sub-continent. No Indian Muslim with any pretence to sanity contemplates a Muslim State or series of States in North-West India outside the British Commonwealth of Nations as a plan of practical politics.

Although I would oppose the creation of another cockpit of communal strife in the Central Punjab, as suggested by some

enthusiasts, I am all for a re-distribution of India into provinces with effective majorities of one community or another on lines advocated by the Nehru and Simon Reports. Indeed, my suggestion regarding Muslim provinces merely carries forward this idea. A series of contented and well-organised Muslim provinces on the North-West Frontier of India would be the bulwark of India and of the British Empire against the hungry generations of the Asiatic mainlands.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

October 10, 1931 St. James Place. S. W. 1

(41)

Lahore
12th December 1933

Dear Raghib Ahsan,[1]

I hope you received the full text of my statement which I sent to you the very day it was published.[2] I think Pt. (Pandit) Jawahar Lal Nehru has issued a statement in reply to mine. If so, please send the full text of it to me as early as possible.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

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1. This and the following letter, addresses to Mr. Raghib Ahsan, are reproduced here through the courtesy of the daily *Jang* of Karachi dated 9 November 1977. The Urdu translation of this letter given in the daily bears the date: 12 December 1913. The true year is 1933. These letters are the property of Mr. Muhammad Faridul Haq, Secretary, Mu'tamar Alam-i Islami, Karachi.

2. This refers to the statement of Iqbal issued on 6 December 1933, explaining the attitude of Muslim Delegates at the Round Table Conference. This statement reveals the hypocritical attitude of Hindu leaders vis-a-vis the Muslims. See S. A. Vahid, op. cit., pp. 363-67.

(42)

Lahore
19th December 1937

Dear . . .

I am extremely sorry that on account of prolonged illness I am unable to attend the Palestine and League Conferences at[1] Calcutta. I have no doubt that under the guidance of Mr. Abdur Rahman the Palestine Conference will be able to discover some effective mode of protest against the present British policy in Palestine. The League Conference too will, I hope, be able to give a clear lead to Indian Muslims in matters which are likely seriously to affect the future of Islam and Muslims in India.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

1. It refers probably to the Muslim League session held in April 1938.

(43)

Introductory Note

Mr Umaruddin (b. 1902) was a lecturer in the Department of Philosophy when these letters were written. Formerly, he was Vice-Principal, Dehli College. He joined the Muslim University, Aligarh in 1930. In 1948, he became Professor and Head of the department of Philosophy. He died in Aligarh in 1964.

He wrote on the Ethics of Ghazali and did excellent work on the religious thought of Sayyid Ahmad Khan.

Dr Zafarul Hasan was in those days head of the department when Mr Umaruddin joined the department. Dr Zafarul Hasan's work on the history of Realism is well-known.

Out of these three letters given here, the two are addressed to Mr Umaruddin while the third to Dr Zafarul Hasan. As this too concerns Mr Umaruddin, it has been included here. The letter of 22 November 1935, in Urdu rendering, is included in Shaikh Ataulla, Ed., *Iqbalnama*, I, pp. 66-7.

I am grateful to the publisher of the famous *Nuqush* who first published these letters in their special Iqbal issue of *Nuqush*.

Lahore
22nd November 1935

Dear Mr Umaruddin,

Thank you so much for the booklet you have sent me. It is a very interesting account of Ghazali's Ethical teachings. It is true

that the thinker needs a coherent universe of thought and is therefore driven to build systems of Ethics and of Metaphysics. Experience, however, shows that the average man need a discipline—individually as well as collectively—. In his own interest as well as in the interests of the group to which he belongs he should not question the authority of this discipline. This I think is the secret of Islam as a people-building force.

Your thesis is inspiring. I do hope you will do further research work in the same field.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(44)

Lahore
13 December 1935

My dear Mr Zafarul Hasan,

Your disciple, M. Umaruddin M.A., I suppose, sent me, sometime ago, his booklet on Ghazali. Please tell him to read a book--*An Early Mystic of Baghdad* حارث ابن اسد المحاسبی [Harith b. Asad al-Muhasibi] by Margarat Smith published a few months ago. He must read every word of this book. It will give him a much better understanding of Ghazali's teaching and of Muhasibi's influence, through Ghazali, on the Jewish and Christian Mysticism of both East and West.

Hoping you are well.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(45)

Lahore
8th May 1936

Dear Mr Umaruddin,

Thanks for your papers on Ghazali and Shahabuddin Maqtul. Both are interesting as chapters in the history of Muslim Thought. I have, however, lost much of my interest in Muslim Philosophy and Mysticism. To my mind the ***Fiqh*** of Islam, i.e. the law relating to what is called Muamilat, is far more important in the Economic and Cultural history of the world than mere speculation which has been the unconscious cause of split in Islam.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(46)

Introductory Note

In 1934, posts of one Reader and one Lecturer in the Urdu Department of the Muslim University, Aligarh, fell vacant. A Selection Committee was appointed. Iqbal was one of the members. The Registrar of the University, Mr Azmat Ilahi Zuberi, conveyed this information to Iqbal. The present letter of Iqbal is in reply to this letter of the Registrar. The following letter, like the present, is addressed to the Registrar of the Muslim University.

Lahore
31st July 1934

Dear Sir,

Thanks for your letter. I am at present suffering from a bad throat and find it difficult to travel. If, however, you can make an exception in my case and send me the names of the candidates with their academic qualifications and description of the literary activities, I shall be glad to record my opinion. If this is not possible then I am afraid you will have to wait till I am in a fit condition to travel. I hope to be well till the end of August 1934.

Yours truly
Muhammad Iqbal

(47)

Lahore
7th August 1934

Dear Sir,

I enclose my opinion of the' candidates for the posts of Readership and Lectureship in Urdu.

Opinon

A. Readership

For Readership I unhesitatingly vote for Rashid Ahmad Siddiqi (No. 34 in your list). He has always struck me as a prose writer and critic of great promise. His prose has a kind of quiet humour and freshness which I hardly find in his contemporaries of the younger school. This judgement is based on my personal knowledge of himself and his writings. In my opinion no other candidate comes up to Rashid Ahmad.

B. Lectureship

For lectureship only four names should be considered, i.e. No. 6, 16, 20, 26 in your list. I am personally inclined to choose Sayyid Ali Ahsan (No. 16). He is now 57 having given the best part of his life to the study of Urdu. I think he has proved a success as a lecturer in Urdu. It is a pity that he has no knowledge of English; and I fear other members of the committee may not agree with me. If they cannot see their way to agree with me, then,

in my opinion, the choice lies between three persons—Jalil Ahmad Qidwai, Mohammad Yahya Tanha and Agha Mohammad Ashraf i.e. No. 6, 20, 26 in your list. Agha Mohammad Ashraf seems promising but he is too young yet for a post of this kind. Of the remaining too I prefer Jalil Ahmad Qidwai.[1]

Muhammad Iqbal
7th August 1934

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1. The record of Muslim University show that the following appointments were made:

1. Rashid Ahmad Siddiqi as Reader.
2. Sayyid Ali Ahsan as Lecturer Grade I.
3. Jalil Ahmad Qidwai as Lecturer Grade 2.

(48)

Introductory Note

There was an old mosque adjacent to Iqbal's bungalow on the Mayo Road (now called Allama Iqbal Road). It was in a dilapidated condition. Iqbal decided to get it completely renovated. For this purpose he submitted a Building Plan to the Municipai Committee [In those days it was not yet elevated to a Corporation.] which was however rejected on certain technical grounds. The present letter is an appeal to some higher authority against the decision for necessary approval of the Plan for renovating the mosque.

The Plan was accordingiy sanctioned and Iqbal succeeded in getting the mosque fully renovated.

Lahore
4th January 1936

To

The Secretary, Municipal Committee,
Lahore.

Appeal against the Executive Officer's order d. 3-2-36 refusing my building plans on the ground that they are against the schedule.

Dear Sir,

I beg to bring to your kind notice that the undermentioned facts need your careful examination in connection with the Executive officer's order :

(i) The mosque the plan of which was submitted, already exists on old foundations. The question of schedule does not arise in case of the construction of a mosque which is to be repaired or rebuilt.

(ii) The Committee has already permitted a number of buildings against the schedule which are of the Indian type and built just on the edge of the road, e.g. Geoffory building, and the one in the neighbourhood of Mr. Abdul Rahim's bangalow, etc.

(iii) The schedule sanctioned by the Committee is not approved by the Government. It cannot, therefore, be enforced.

On the above grounds, my plan should be sanctioned.

Yours truly
Muhammad Iqbal

Lahore
4th January 1936

To

The Secretary, Municipal Committee,
Lahore

Appeal against the Executive Officer's order [illegible] refusing my building plans on the ground that they are against the schedule.

(9)

Letters

to

Quaid-i-Azam

INTRODUCTION

These thirteen letters of Iqbal written to the Quaid-i-Azam, during a very critical period in the political history of the Muslims of this sub-continent, are very important for understanding the mind of Iqbal as well as his analysis of the ways the Muslims could solve their political, economic and cultural problems.

These letters cover a period of 19 months, starting from the last week of May 1936. He had returned from Bhopal on 9th April and his health seemed to have improved considerably. It was during this period that *Darb-i-Kalim* was published and Iqbal received the inspiration to compose what came to be called *Pas Che Bayad Kard*, which was later published in September 1936.

But during summer of the same year his health took a bad turn and thereafter it so seemed that he would never regain his normal health.

In May 1936 Quaid-i-Azam visited Iqbal in Lahore in connection with his object of organising Muslim League. Iqbal agreed to help as much as he could. A meeting was convened at the house of the late Mian Abdul Aziz outside Yakki Gate, Lahore, on 12 May which was presided ever by Iqbal. Henceforth Iqbal with the help of several selfless and dedicated souls started carrying the message of the Muslim League to every corner of the province and in spite of strong opposition from the ruling

party, the Unionists, the message of the League began to be heard everywhere. This correspondence, which ends by November 1937, only 5 months before his death, clearly reveals how anxious Iqbal was to see the League succeed in its mission. The subjects discussed in the letters are varied and deserve our serious attention, at the present moment.

1. For the Muslims, cultural problem has priority over their economic problem. He urged that cultural identity of the Muslims must be maintained and preserved at all cost and it was for this very reason that he was willing to accept the Communal Award because in spite of certain short-comings it recognised their separate political existence.

2. The Muslim League constitution should be so changed that it may become a mass organisation, a true representative of common man.

3. Serious steps should be taken to solve the economic problem of the Muslims, which, in Iqbal's view, is possible if independent Muslim State or States are established. Iqbal urged upon the Quaid-i-Azam the advisability of starting with the convening of North West Muslim Conference.

4. A federation of Muslim State or States should be established quite separate from Hindu State.

5. He clearly and unequivocally repudiated atheistic socialism as a solution of our economic problem. *Shar'ia* alone can serve our purpose.

6. He emphasised that the policy for the Muslim majority areas should not be confused with that for the Muslim minority areas. In fact, he wanted that minority provinces should be ignored for the time

being. This policy of his was the result of, as he said, wrong policy adopted while framing the Lucknow Pact.

7. Iqbal very much wished to see the five provinces on the North-West and North-East of the subcontinent—Punjab, Sind, Assam, Bengal, Frontier—to be ruled by Muslim Governments (letter of 30-12-37) as the first step towards the establishment of Independent Muslim State or States.

We are reproducing here the valuable Foreword by the Quaid-i Azam to these letters published by Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf for which we are greatful to him.

FOREWORD

by

Quaid-i-Azam

The letters which form the subject of this booklet were written to me by the sage-philosopher and national poet of Islam, the late Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal, during the period May 1936 to November 1937, a few months before his death. This period synchronises with a very eventful period in the history of Muslim India—between the establishment of All-India Muslim League Central Parliamentary Board in June 1936 and the great historic sessions at Lucknow in October 1937.

If the Central Parliamentary Board with its Provincial Branches marked the first great attempt on the part of the Muslim League to rally round the Muslim opinion to contest the approaching elections, under the Government of India Act of 1935, for Provincial Legislature on the League ticket, the Lucknow Session indicated the first stage in the re-organistation of the Muslim League on a popular basis and as the only authoritative and representative organisation of Muslim India. Both these high objects were attained in great part owing to the invaluable support that I obtained through the sincere efforts and selfless activities of many friends like Sir Muhammad Iqbal, amongst others. The League gained from strength to strength in this short period. In each of the Provinces where League Parliamentary Board was established and the League parties were constituted we carried away about 60 to 70 per cent of the seats that were contested by the League candidates. Hundreds of District and Primary Leagues were established in almost every province from the farthest corner of Madras to the North-West Frontier Province.

The League gave a staggering blow to the so-called Muslim

Mass Contact Movement which was started by the Congress to disrupt Muslim ranks and to overawe League into submission. The League emerged triumphant in most of the by-elections and shattered the intrigues and machinations of those who hoped to create the impression that the Muslim League Organisation had no support of the Muslim people.

Within nineteen months before the Lucknow Session, the League had succeeded in organising Muslims as one party with an advanced and progressive programme and had brought under its influence even those Provinces which for lack of time or preparation had not been sufficiently benefited by the activities of League Parliamentary Boards. The Lucknow Session furnished an unmistakable evidence of the popularity that League commanded among Muslims of all groups and ranks.

It was a great achievement for Muslim League that its lead came to be acknowledged by both the majority and minority Provinces. Sir Muhammad Iqbal played a very conspicuous part, though at the time not revealed to public, in bringing about this consummation. He had his own doubts about Sikandar-Jinnah Pact being carried out and tangible results without delay so as to dispel popular misapprehension about it, but unfortunately he has not lived to see that the Punjab has all round made a remarkable progress and now it is beyond doubt that the Muslims stand solidly behind the Muslim League Organisation.

With this brief historical background in mind, the letters can be read with great interest. It is, however, much to be regretted that my own replies to Iqbal are not available. During the period under reference I worked alone unassisted by the benefit of a personal staff and so did not retain duplicate copies of the numerous letters that I had to dispose of. I made enquiries from the Trustees of Iqbal's estate at Lahore and was informed that my letters were not traceable. Hence I had no alternative but to publish the letters without my replies as I think these letters are of very great historical importance, particularly those which explain his views in clear and unambiguous terms on the political future of Muslim India. His views were substantially in consonance with my own and had finally led me to the same conclusions as a result

of careful examination and study of the constitutional problems facing India, and found expression in due course in the united will of Muslim India as adumberated in the Lahore resolution of the All-India Muslim League, popularly known as the "Pakistan Resolution", passed on 23rd March, 1940.

(1)

Introductory Note

A meeting of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League was held on 12 May 1936 under the presidentship of Iqbal. One of the resolutions passed at this meeting was to welcome the proposal of Mr. Jinnah to establish a Central Parliamentary Board in order to organise elections for the Provincial legislatures under the Government of India Act 1935.

On 21 May 1936, Mr. Jinnah announced the names of the members of this Central Board. Four members from the Majlis-i Ahrar and three from Ittihad-i Millat were nominated to this Board among the 11 members from the Panjab. This unequal representation led to mutual bickerings. Ittihad-i-Milliat was lukewarm in its support of the League while the Majlis-Ahrar later on dissociated itself from the Parliamentary Board.

A pamphlet was issued on 8 May 1936 on behalf of Iqbal and 14 other leaders associated with the Provincial Muslim League, appealing to the Muslim public to vote for Muslim League candidates. The Unionist Party was strongly criticised for its anti-Muslim policy of destroying Muslim unity and integrity. For the text of this pamphlet, see Rafiq Afdal, *Guftar-i-Iqbal*, pp. 202-6.

Lahore
23rd May 1936

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you so much for your letter which I received a moment ago. I am glad to see that your work is progressing. I hope that

the Punjab parties—specially the Ahrar and the Ittihad Millat[1]—will eventually, after some bickering, join you. A every enthusiastic and active member of the Ittihad told me so a few days ago. About M. Zafar Ali Khan the Ittihad people do not themselves feel sure. However there is plenty of time yet, and we shall soon see how the electorate generally feels about the Ittihad sending their men to the Assembly.

Hoping you are well and looking forward to meeting you

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

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1. Majlis-i Ahrar was one of the most dynamic, progressive and active political parties of the Muslims, established in 1931 in Lahore, as a secessionist group from the Indian National Congress. Among its leaders were Chaudhri Afzal Haq, Maulana Daud Ghaznavi, Mazhar Ali Azhar, Sayyid Ataullah Shah Bukhari and others. In August 1931 they started Kashmir movement and very soon gained wide popularity. It was a highly organised party, having an army of disciplined workers.

When Sir Fazl-i Husain, after retiring from the Viceroy's Executive Council at Dehli in 1935, came to Lahore, he found the political atmosphere in the Punjab completely dominated by the Ahrar. He therefore hatched a conspiracy. Through official pressure, he incited the Sikhs to demolish the Shahid Ganj mosque which they did under the protection of police and army. His scheme was quite clear. If the Ahrar took up the cause of the Shahid Ganj mosque, they would be put behind the bars, thus deprived of fighting elections ; if they failed to lead the agitation, they would lose popular support. His scheme succeeded beautifully at the cost of Muslim interests. The Ahrar refused to fall into the trap. The people who came forward to take up the cause of Shahid Ganj, came to form a new party called Ittihad-i Millat. Among its leaders were Zafar Ali Khan, Malik Lal Din Qaisar and others.

(2)

Introductory Note

Mr. Jinnah was in Lahore in connection with the opening session of the Parliamentary Board of the Muslim League. This meeting was held to prepare and draft the Muslim League election Manifesto. This letter was delivered personally to Mr. Jinnah.

Lahore
9th June 1939

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I am sending you my draft. Also a cutting from the ***Eastern Times***[1] of yesterday. This is a letter from an intelligent pleader of Gurdaspur.

I hope the statement issued by the Board[2] will fully argue the whole scheme and will meet all the objections so far advanced against it. It must frankly state the present position of the Indian Muslims as regards both the Government and the Hindus. It must warn the Muslims of India that unless the present scheme is adopted the Muslims will lose all that they have gained during the last 15 years and will seriously harm, and in fact, shatter their own solidarity with their own hands.

Yours etc.
Muhammad Iqbal

P. S. Will feel much obliged if you send the statement to me before it is sent to the press.

Another point which should be brought out in the statement is as follows:

(i) Indirect elections[3] to the Central Assembly has made it absolutely essential that Muslim representatives returned to the Provincial Assemblies should be bound by an All-India Muslim policy and programme so that they should return to the Central Assembly only those Muslims who would be pledged to support the specific Muslim questions connected with the Central subjects and arising out of their position as the second great nation of India. Those who are now for provincial policies and programmes were themselves instrumental in getting indirect elections for the Central Assembly into constitution obviously because this suited a foreign government. Now when the community wants to make the best use of this mis-fortune (i.e. indirect elections) by proposing an all-India scheme of elections (e.g. League scheme) to be adhered to by the Provincial candidates, the same men, again at the instance of a foreign government, have come out to defeat the community in their effort to retain its solidarity as a nation.

(ii) Question of Wakf Law arising out of Shahidganj,[4] culture, language, mosques and personal law.

NOTES

1. *Eastern Times* was an English daily of Lahore.

2. Statement of the Board refers to the Manifesto of the Muslim League to be issued by the Parliamentary Board.

As desired by Iqbal this manifesto clarified the political position of the Muslims vis-a-vis the Hindus and the Government. After tracing the constitutional development of the country in which Lucknow Pact played a decisive role, it defined Muslim League's ideal as attainment of full responsible government at the earliest opportunity. It quoted the Resolution VIII of the 1936 Muslim League session regarding League's attitude towards the Government of India Act 1935. Then it quoted the resolution IX which authorised the Muslim League to constitute Central and Provincial Election Boards. Then it quoted certain passages from the Address of the League President Sayyid Wazir Hasan, in the 1916 annual session :

"The present conditions compel us to go much deeper into the problems of the entire social regeneration of 70 million Muslims ; of extricating them from the terrible poverty, degradation and backwardness into which they have fallen, giving them at least the rudiments of a civilised existence, and making them free citizens of a free land. We must realise that . . . unless such a change is soon made, the whole of this social structure must come down with a crash. . . . It is the duty of all of us . . . to combine together to lay the foundations of a new structure. . . . Let me tell you that building of such a social edifice will be more glorious, more humane and more just than the building of an empire."

For the full text of this Manifesto, see Ashiq Husain Batalvi, *Iqbal Kai Akhari Do Sal*, pp. 647-659.

3. Indirect Elections. The Government of India Act 1935 when passed by the British Parliament involved certain changes. "The chief modification made in its passage through Parliament was the surprising and rather unfortunate amendment introduced in the Lords, by which the election of members to the upper house of the Central government was made direct instead of indirect . . . There results the anamoly that in the upper house election is direct and in the lower and theoretically more popular house it is indirect." *The Cambridge History of India*, VI, p. 633 note 1. (New Dehli).

4. Shahid Ganj (mosque) is situated near Lahore Railway Station. It was built during Shahjahan's reign. During the reign of three Sikh rulers of Lahore (1765-1799) when chaos reigned everywhere, the Sikhs took possession of the mosque.

In 1935, the Sikhs, as a result of intrigues between the British governor and some Muslim leaders like Fazl-i Husain, started demolishing the mosque under police protection. This excited the Muslims who started an agitation against the Government.

A case was filed in the court of the District Judge. The Judgment (25 May

1936) was against the Muslims. It was then decided to file an appeal with the High Court. Iqbal desired that some bill should be introduced in the Legislative Council in order to safeguard the mosques, which should not be treated like other private properties. Malik Barkat Ali prepared a bill, at the instance of Iqbal, to be placed before the Punjab Council, but at the advice of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, the leader of the Unionist Party, the governor of the Council did not give leave.

The question of Shahid Ganj became an All-India problem with the Muslims.

(3)

Introductory Note

When the Unionist Party was revived in the Punjab by Sir Fazl-i Husain to contest elections under Government of India Act 1935, he did not find atmosphere within his party very congenial. A group of the Party was working for the leadership of Sir Sikandar who was then Deputy Governor, Reserve Bank of India, at Bombay. Sir Sikandar came to Lahore on 20 June 1936 and met Raja Narendra Nath, a Kashmiri Brahmin and a prominent member of the Hindu Sabha, Lahore. According to another report, he probably met Iqbal too.

Such meetings were, however, not meant to arrive at any understanding with the Muslim League but were intended to embarras Fazl-i Husain who, in a letter to Chaudhri Shihabuddin, accused Sir Sikandar and Ahmad Yar Daultana of duplicity and disloyalty to the Party.

Sir Sikandar went back to Bombay on 24th June. On that day, Daultana visited Iqbal and made the proposals mentioned in the letter. But these proposals had no official sanction, for Fazl-i Husain was totally unaware of these secret meetings. It seemed to be an intrigue hatched by Sir Sikandar and his supporters to embarras Fazl-i Husain, if Iqbal on the basis of these issued some statement.

Sir Fazl-i Husain died on 9 July 1936 and soon afterwards Sir Sikandar assumed leadership of the Unionist Party.

As events turned out, Sikandar Hayat did not go to Bombay to meet Jinnah but only to resume his official duty.

Lahore
25th June 1936

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Sir Sikandar Hayat left Lahore a day or two ago. I think he will meet you at Bombay and have talk with you about certain matters of importance. Daultana saw me yesterday evening. He tells me that the Muslim members of the Unionist Party are prepared to make the following declaration :

"That in all matters specific to the Muslim community as an all-India minority they will be bound by the decision of the League and will never make any pact with any non-Muslim group in the Provincial Assembly.

"Provided the League (Provincial) makes the following declaration :

" 'That those returned to the Provincial Assembly on the League ticket will co-operate with that party or group which has the largest number of Muslims.' "

Please let me know at your earliest convenience what you think of this proposal. Also let me know the result of your talk with Sir Sikandar Hayat. If you succeed in convincing him he may come to our side.

Hoping you are well,

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

(4)

Mayo Road, Lahore
23rd August 1936

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I hope my letter reached you all right. There is some talk of an understanding between Punjab Parliamentary Board and the Unionist Party. I should like you to let me know what you think of such a compromise and to suggest conditions for the same. I read in the papers that you have brought about a compromise between the Bengal Proja[1] Party and the Parliamentary Board. I should like to know the terms and the conditions. Since the Proja Party is non-communal like the Unionist, your compromise in Bengal may be helpful to you.

Hoping you are well,

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

1. Bengal Proja Party was led by Fazl-i Haq, later called Lion of Bengal.

(5)

Introductory Note

As a result of election under the Provincial Autonomy, the Indian Congress won overwhelmingly in the six provinces where the Hindus were in majority. In Muslim majority provinces, the Congress failed miserably except in the Frontier where Muslims were disorganised. There were 500 Muslim seats out of which the Congress could get only 25—15 in the Frontier Provinces and 10 in the rest of the country.

Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru, elated by this unexpected success, called an All-India Convention on 19 March 1937 to which all the 800 members elected on Congress ticket were invited. In this Convention, he made a speech in which the following points were emphasised:

(i) We have been dealing so far with the Muslim leaders for settlement of the communal problem and neglecting the Muslim masses;

(ii) Muslims are not a distinct community; this idea is a remnant of medievalism;

(iii) The main problem is economic. There is no distinction of Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian, when the question is of poverty, unemployment and national independence;

(iv) The Muslim masses feel today highly frustrated on seeing the Congress success; they wish to share and participate in the happiness of their countrymen.

As a result of deliberations of the All-Indian National Con-

vention, the Indian Congress started a movement called Muslim Mass Contact to win over the Muslim masses. It was a dismal failure.

Lahore
20th March 1937

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I suppose you have read Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's address to the All-India National Convention and that you fully realise the policy under-lying it in so far as Indian Muslims are concerned. I believe you are also aware that the new constitution has at least brought a unique opportunity to Indian Muslims for self-organisation in view of the future political developments both in India and Muslim Asia. While we are ready to co-operate with other Progresive Parties in the country, we must not ignore the fact that the whole future of Islam as a moral and political force in Asia rests very largely on a complete organisation of Indian Muslims. I therefore suggest that an effective reply should be given to the All-India National Convention. You should immediately hold an All-India Muslim Convention in Dehli to which you should invite members of the new Provincial Assemblies as well as other prominent Muslim leaders. To this convention you must restate as cleatly and as strongly as possible the political objective of the Indian Muslims as a distinct political unit in the country. It is absolutely necessary to tell the world both inside and outside India that the economic problem is not the only problem in the country. From the Muslim point of view cultural problem is of much greater consequence to most Indian Muslims. At any rate it is not less important than the economic problem.[1] If you could hold this Convention, it would test the credentials of those Muslim

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1. This remark of Iqbal clearly reflects the working of Muslim mind during the struggle for the achievement of Independence for the Muslims. It refutes the claim of some hypocritical scholars and politicians that Pakistan came into being due merely to economic causes.

Legislators who have formed parties contrary to the aims and aspirations of Indian Muslims. It would further make it clear to the Hindus that no political device, however subtle, can make the Indian Muslim lose sight of his cultural entity.[2] I am coming to Dehli in a few days time[3] and hope (to) have a talk with you on this important matter. I shall be staying in the Afghan Consulate. If you could spare a few moments, we should meet there. Please drop a line in reply to this letter as early as possible.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

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2. In his Presidential Address to the Muslim League at Lucknow, in October 1937, Jinnah said, "The present leadership of the Congress, especially during the last 10 years, has been responsible for alienating the Musalmans of India more and more, by pursuing a policy which is exclusively Hindu; and since they have formed Governments in six provinces where they are in majority, they have by their words, deeds and programme shown, more and more, that the Musalmans cannot expect any justice or fair play at their hands. . . . The Congress attempt, under the guise of establishing mass contact with the Musalmans, is calculated to divide and weaken and break the Musalmans, and is an effort to detach them from their accredited leaders." Pirzada, *Foundations of Pakistan*, I, pp. 267, 270.

3. Iqbal went to Dehli to consult his physician, the famous Blind Physician.

(6)

Lahore
22nd April 1937

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I do not know whether my letter which I posted to you about two weeks ago ever reached you. I posted it to your address at New Dehli, and when I went to Dehli later, I discovered that you had already left Dehli.[1] In that letter I proposed that we should hold immediately an All-India Muslim Convention, say at Dehli, and once more to restate the policy of India Muslims both to the Government and to the Hindus.

As the situation is becoming grave and the Muslim feeling in the Punjab in rapidly becoming pro-Congress[2] for reasons which it is unnecessary to detail, I would request you to consider and decide the matter as early as possible. The session of the All-India Muslim League is postponed till August, and the situation demands an early restatement of the Muslim policy. If the Convention is preceded by a tour of prominent Muslim leaders, the

1. The last letter of Iqbal was dated 20th March 1937. As Iqbal realised on reaching Dehli, this letter had not reached Jinnah, for he had gone to U.P. to look to organisational matters of the League. According to a news item in the daily *Statesman* of 20th March, Jinnah called a meeting of all Muslim members of the provincial legislature in his efforts to bring them on one platform. See Ashiq Batalvi, op. cit., pp. 388-89.

2. The reason for this change was only psychological. With no organised political party to back them, Muslims felt isolated and frustrated.

meeting of the Convention is sure to be a great success. Please drop a line in reply to this letter as early as possible.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal
Bar-at-Law

(7)

Introductory Note

This is one of the most important letters of this series. Here Iqbal suggests to the Quaid-i-Azam the way Muslim League can become a popular political party with its appeal to the Muslim masses:

(*i*) it must look to the economic backwardness of the Muslims which is the result of Hindu capitalism as well as British imperialism and find ways and means of solving it;

(*ii*) the only possible solution of this economic problem is to enforce the Islamic *Shariat* which can guarantee basic necessities to all;

(*iii*) enforcement of the *Shariat* is possible only in an independent State or States;

(*iv*) hence the League must demand re-distribution of the country so as to consolidate Muslim majority areas;

(*v*) atheistic socialism—advocated by Jawahar Lal Nehru—is no solution at all.

Lahore
28th May 1937

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you so much for your letter which reached me in due course. I am glad to hear that you will bear in mind what I wrote

to you about the changes in the constitution and programme of the League. I have no doubt that you fully realise the gravity of the situation as far as Muslim India is concerned. The League will have to finally decide whether it will remain a body representing the upper classes of Indian Muslims or Muslim masses who have so far, with good reason, taken no interest in it. Personally I believe that a political organisation which gives no promise of improving the lot of the average Muslim cannot attract our masses.

Under the new constitution the higher posts go to the sons of upper classes; the smaller ones go to the friends or relatives of the ministers. In other matters, too, our political institutions have never thought of improving the lot of Muslims generally. The problem of bread is becoming more acute. The Muslim has begun to feel that he has been going down and down during the last 200 years. Ordinarily he believes that his poverty is due to Hindu money-lending or capitalism. The perception that it is equally due to foreign rule has not yet fully come to him. But it is bound to come. The atheistic socialism of Jawaharlal is not likely to receive much respone from the Muslims. The question therefore is: how is it possible to solve the problem of Muslim poverty? And the whole future of the League depends on the League's activity to solve this question.[1] If the League can give no such promises I am sure that Muslim masses will remain indifferent to it as before. Happily there is a solution in the enforcement of the Law of Islam and its further development in the light of modern ideas. After a long and careful study of Islamic Law I have come to the conclusion that if this System of Law is properly understood and applied, at least the right to subsistence is secured to everybody. But the enforcement and development of the *Shariat* of Islam is impossible in this country without a free Muslim State or States.[2] This has been my honest conviction for many years and I still believe this to be the only way to solve the problem of bread for Muslims as well as to secure a peaceful India. If such a thing is impossible in India the only other alternative is a civil war which as a matter of fact has been going on for some time in the shape of Hindu-Muslim riots. I fear that in certain parts of the country,

e.g. N.-W. India, Palestine may be repeated. Also the insertion of Jawaharlal's socialism into the body-politic of Hinduism is likely to cause much bloodshed among the Hindus themselves. The issue between social democracy and Brahmanism is not dissimilar to the one between Brahmanism and Buddhism. Whether the fate of socialism will be the same as the fate of Buddhism in India I cannot say. But it is clear to my mind that if Hinduism accepts social democracy it must cease to be Hinduism. For Islam the acceptance of social democracy in some suitable form and consistent with the legal principles of Islam is not a revolution but a return to the original purity of Islam. The modern problems therefore are more easy to solve for the Muslims than for the Hindus. But as I have said above in order to make it possible for Muslim India to solve the problems it is necessary to redistribute the country and to provide one or more Muslim States with absolute majorities. Don't you think that the time for such a demand has already arrival?[3] Perhaps this is the best reply you can give to the atheistic socialism of Jawaharlal Nehru.

Anyhow I have given you my own thoughts in the hope that you will give them serious consideration either in your address or in the discussions of the coming session of the League. Muslim India hopes that at this serious juncture your genius will discover some way out of our present difficulties.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal

NOTES

1. The points raised by Iqbal in this letter were seriously considered by the Muslim League in its next annual session at Lucknow in 1937. Resolution No. XIV directed "the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League to take immediate steps to frame and put into effect economic, social and educational programme with a view:

> to fix working hours for factory workers and other labourers; to fix minimum wages;
> to improve the housing and hygienic conditions of the labourers and make provision for slum clearance;
> to abolish forced labour;
> to undertake rural uplift work;
> to devise means for the relief of unemployment. . . .

2. Resolution II of the session was:

> The object of the All-India Muslim League shall be the establishment in India of full independence in the form of a *federation of free democratic States* in which the rights and the interests of Musalmans and other minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the Constitution.

The late Maulana Hasrat Mohani, while speaking on this resolution, said that he had failed to carry his resolution on independence in the Ahmadabad Congress session due to opposition of Mahatma Gandhi. See Sharifuddin Pirzada, op. cit., II, pp. 274, 280.

3. This sentence of Iqbal—written about 11 months before his death—emphatically expresses his conviction that time has come to take into consideration the problem of re-distribution of land so as to form free Muslim State or States.

It refutes the charge of Dr. Edwards Thomson who claimed that Iqbal told him that his scheme of Pakistan, on mature consideration, seemed to be impracticable and harmful for Muslims.

(8)

Introductory Note

The problems discussed in this letter had been agitating the Muslims since long. In his Presidential Address to the Muslim League in 1930 at Allahabad, Iqbal had stated:

> The Muslims of India cannot agree to any constitutional changes which affect their majority rights, to be secured by separate electorates in the Punjab and Bengal. . . . There were two pitfalls into which Muslim political leaders fell. The first was the repudiated Lucknow Pact which originated in a false view of Indian Nationalism and deprived the Muslims of India of chances of acquiring any political power in India. The second is the narrow visioned sacrifice of Islamic solidarity in the interest of what may be called Punjab ruralism resulting in a proposal which virtually reduces the Punjab Muslims to a position of minority. It is the duty of the League to condemn both the Pact and the proposal." S. A. Vahid, op. cit., p. 184.

Iqbal criticised the Lucknow Pact because by giving weightage to non-Muslims in the Punjab and Bengal (corresponding to weightage given to Muslims in Hindu majority provinces), majority representation of Muslims in the legislature suffered badly. Hence Iqbal's protest.

In his address to the Muslim Conference in Lahore in March 1932, Iqbal grievously pointed out that the Sikh and Hindu politicians "could not tolerate a Muslim majority in the Punjab."

See K.K. Aziz, op. cit., p. 87. The Sikhs whom the Hindus often used as tools, declared that they would not tolerate Muslim majority in the Punjab.

On April 2 1932, Iqbal issued a statement in collaboration with some other leaders, in which he urged the British Government not to ignore Muslim majority in the Punjab in spite of non-Muslims' illogical agitation against it. See Rafiq Afdal, op. cit., pp. 148-151.

In August 1932, the Communal Award was announced. Unluckily, it did not give statutory majorities to Muslims in their majority provinces. In the Punjab, Muslims were 55% but were given only 49% seats in the provincial legislature. Similarly in Bengal, Muslims were 54·5% but were given only 47·5% representation.

The Executive Board of the Muslim Conference, passed a resolution at Dehli (21 August 1932):

"In the opinion of the Board, the decision of His Majesty's Government about the measure of Muslim representation in the provincial legislature is disappointing, as it falls very much short of the Muslim demands embodied in their resolution of the All-India Muslim Conference, and as it (*a*) denies the right of statutory majority by separate electorates to the Musalmans in the Punjab and Bengal. . . . " See K.K. Aziz, op. cit., p. 111.

Iqbal issued a statement on 24 August 1932 voicing his protest against this decision of the Award which failed to give majority to the Muslims in these provinces that was their due. See S. A. Vahid, op. cit., pp. 346-9.

Lahore
June 21st 1937

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Thank you so much for your letter which I received yesterday. I know you are a busy man; but I do hope you won't mind my writing to you so often, as you are the only Muslim in India today to whom the community has right to look up for safe guidance through the storm which is coming to North-West India, and perhaps to the whole of India. I tell you that we are actually living

in a state of civil war which, but for the police and military, would become universal in no time. During the last few months there has been a series of Hindu-Muslim riots in India. In North-West India alone there have been at least three riots during the last three months and at least four cases of vilification of the Prophet by Hindus and Sikhs. In each of these four cases, the vilifier has been murdered. There have also been cases of burning of the Quran in Sind. I have carefully studied the whole situation and believe that the real cause of these events is neither religious nor economic. It is purely political, i.e., the desire of the Sikhs and Hindus to intimidate Muslims even in the Muslim majority provinces. And the new constitution is such that even in the Muslim majority provinces, the Muslims are made entirely dependent on non-Muslims. The result is that the Muslim Ministry can take no proper action and are even driven to do injustice to Muslims, partly to please those on whom they depend, and partly to show that they are absolutely impartial. Thus it is clear that we have our specific reasons to reject this constitution. It seems to me that the new constitution is devised only to placate the Hindus. In the Hindu majority provinces, the Hindus have of course absolute majorities, and can ignore Muslims altogether. In Muslim majority provinces, the Muslims are made entirely dependent on Hindus. I have no doubt in my mind that this constitution is calculated to do infinite harm to the Indian Muslims. Apart from this it is no solution of the economic problem which is so acute among Muslims.

The only thing that the Communal Award grants to Muslims is the recognition of their political existence in India. But such a recognition granted to people whom this constitution does not and cannot help in solving their problem of poverty can be of no value to them. The Congress President has denied the political existence of Muslims in no unmistakable terms. The other Hindu political body, i.e. the Mahasabba, whom I regard as the real representative of the masses of the Hindus, has declared more than once that a united Hindu-Muslim nation is impossible in India. In these circumstances it is obvious that the only way to a peaceful India is a redistribution of the country on the lines of racial,

(9)

Lahore
11th August 1937

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Events have made it abundantly clear that the League ought to concentrate all its activities on the North-West Indian Musalmans. The League office of Dehli informed Mr. Ghulam Rasool[1] that the dates of the sessions of the Muslim League have not been fixed as yet.

This being so I fear it will not be possible to hold the Session in August and September. I, therefore, repeat my request that the League session may be held in Lahore in the middle or end of October. The enthusiasm for the League is rapidly increasing in the Punjab, and I have no doubt that the holding of the session in Lahore will be a turning point in the history of the League and an important step towards mass contact. Please drop a line in reply.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal
Bar-at-Law

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1. Mr. Ghulam Rasul, advocate, was the Secretary of Punjab provincial Muslim League and often helped Iqbal in correspondence with Jinnah.

(10)

Introductory Note

Ever since Iqbal undertook the responsibility of organising the League in the Punjab, when Jinnah came to visit him in 1936, he was able to gather rouud him some noble spirits who were willing to work for the League under Iqbal's guidance. But the main difficulty had been that the Punjab, in spite of being a Muslim majority province, did not enjoy majority in the provincial legislature aud hence Muslims had to depend on non-Muslims to run the Government.

The Unionist Party, first under Fazl-i Husain and later, under Sikandar Hayat, was a coalition of Muslims and non-Muslims with an economic programme which badly affected the urban middle classes from which usually real leadership emerges.

With this position before him, Iqbal tried to organise Muslim League without seeking the help of the Unionist Muslims.

But the extra-ordinary success of the Congress at the polls and then the Muslim Mass Contact movement unnerved the Muslim leaders in Bengal and Punjab. They were on the horns of a dilemma : they were not willing to forgo power in the provinces, but in the Centre they wanted support of the Muslim League, in order to ward off Congress threat.

But this was only a temporary strategy ; Sikandar Hayat was not sincere in his loyalty to the League. As Iqbal wrote again and again to Jinnah, the Unionists wanted to capture League only to destroy it as far as the Punjab was concerned.

But the Quaid-i-Azam's outlook was wider than Iqbal's. He

had to look to the interest of the League in a wider perspective, to meet the challenge of the Congress. Knowing full well the real intentions of Sikandar Hayat, he continued to court him, till in the 1937 session at Lucknow, Sikandar Hayat declared in the open session his allegiance to the League which was heartily welcomed by the audience. It was a symbol of strength to the Muslim League. Among the majority provinces, the Frontier was under Congress rule; in Sind Chief Minister Allah Bukhsh was enticed away by Congress intrigues; only minority provinces were with the League, and that was definitely a dis-advantage. By the entry of Sikandar Hayat Khan into the Muslim League, Muslims regained confidence in their party vis-a-vis the highly organised Congress.

For this psychological reason, Jinnah was willing to overlook, for the time being, Sikandar Hayat's waywardness and therefore he continued to ignore Iqbal's protests.

Lahore
7th October 1937

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

A strong contingent from the Punjab is expected to attend the Lucknow Session of the League. The Unionist Muslims are also making preparations to attend under the leadership of Sir Sikandar Hayat. We are living in difficult times and the Indian Muslims expect that your address will give them the clearest possible lead in all matters relating to the future of the community. I suggest that the League may state or re-state its policy relating to the communal award in the shape of a suitable resolution. In the Punjab and I hear also in Sind attempts are being made by misguided Muslims themselves to alter it in the interests of the Hindus. Such men fondly believe that by pleasing the Hindus they will be able to retain their power. I personally believe that since the British Government wants to honour the Hindus who would welcome the upsetter of the communal award they (the British Government) are trying to get it upset through their Muslim agents.

I shall prepare a list of 28 persons for the vacancies in the League Council.[1] Mr. Ghulam Rasool will show you this list. I do hope that this choice will be carefully made. Our men will leave Lahore on the 13th.

The Palestine question[2] is very much agitating the minds of the Muslims. We have a very fine opportunity for mass contact for the purpose of the League. I have no doubt that the League will pass a strong resolution on this question and also by holding a private conference of the leaders decide on some sort of a positive action in which masses may share in large numbers. This will at once popularise the League and may help the Palestine Arabs. Personally I would not mind going to jail on an issue which affects both Islam and India. The formation of a Western base on the very gates of the East is a menace to both.

With best wishes

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal
Bar-at-Law

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1. When the meeting of the League Parliamentary Board was held in Lahore on 8 June 1936, the members of the League Council who belonged to the Unionist Party, had openly defied the League mandate and therefore naturally they were considered to be no longer members of the League Council. Instead of these, Iqbal suggested the names of new 28 members of the Council; Jinnah in the light of his policy did not agree to this change.

2. The annual session of the Muslim League did pass a strong resolution on Palestine. Jinnah in his presidential address assured the Arabs of League's full support in their just cause. See Pirzada, op. cit., 272, 277-78.

(11)

Lahore
30th October 1937

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

I suppose you have already read the resolution passed by the A.I.C.C.[1] Your move in time has saved the situation, and we are all waiting for your observations on the Congress resolution. The *Tribune* of Lahore has already criticised it and I believe Hindu opinion will generally be opposed to it. However, it should not act as an opiate as far as Muslims are concerned. We must carry the work of organisation more vigorously than ever and should not rest till Muslim Governments are established in the five provinces and reforms are granted to Baluchistan.

The rumour is that part of the Unionist Party does not mean to sign the League creed.

So far Sir Sikandar and his party have not signed it and I heard this morning that they would wait till the next session of the League. The idea, as one of themselves said to me, is to slacken the activities of the Provincial League. However, I shall place you in possession of all the facts in a few days time and then ask your opinion as to how we should proceed. I do hope that before the Lahore Session you would be able to tour in the Punjab for at least two weeks.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal
Bar-at-Law

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1. A.I.C.C. stands for All-India Congress Committee.

(12)

Lahore
1st November 1937

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan with some of the members of his party saw me yesterday and we had a long talk about the differences between the League and the Unionist Party. Statements have been issued to the press by both sides. Each side putting its own interpretation on the terms of Jinnah-Sikandar agreement.[1] This has caused much misunderstanding. As I wrote to you before, I will put you in possession of all those statements in a few days time. For the present I request you to kindly send me as early as possible a copy of the agreement which was signed by Sir Sikandar and which I am told is in your possession. I further want to ask you whether you agreed to the Provincial Parliamentary Board being controlled by the Unionist Party. Sir Sikanadar tells me that you agreed to this and therefore he claims that Unionist Party must have their majority in the Board. This as far as I know does not appear in the Jinnah-Sikandar agreement.

Please reply to this letter as early as possible. Our men are touring in the country and forming Leagues in various places. Last night we had a very successful meeting in Lahore. Others will follow.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal
Bar-at-Law

NOTES

1. See Ashiq Batalvi, *Iqbal Kai Akhri Do Sal*, pp. 483-89, how understanding between Sikandar Hayat and the Muslim League was arrived at. This understanding is usually called Jinnah-Sikandar Pact, but Ashiq Batalvi thinks that it cannot be called Pact because it did not bear Jinnah's signature; it was only a statement of Sikandar's intentions and policies which was read in the Muslim League's Council on his behalf.

The text of the declaration is given below:

(*i*) that on his return to the Punjab, Sir Sikandar Hayat will convene a special meeting of his party and advise all members of the party who are not members of the Muslim League already to sign its cread and join it. As such they will be subject to the rules and regulations of the Central and Provincial Boards of the All-India Muslim League. This will not affect the continuance of the present coalition of the Unionist Party.

(*ii*) That in future elections and by-elections for the legislature after the adoption of this arrangement, the groups constituting the present Unionist Party will jointly support candidates put up by their respective groups.

(*iii*) That the Muslim members of the legislature, who are elected on or accept the League Ticket (nomination), will constitute the Muslim League Party within the Legislature. It shall be open to the Muslim League Party so formed to maintain or enter into coalition or alliance with any other party consistently with the fundamental principles of the policy and Programme of the League. Such alliances may be evolved befor or after the elections. The existing combination shall maintain its present name, the Unionist Party.

(*iv*) In view of the aforesaid arrangement, the Provincial League Parliamentary Board shall be re-constituted.

See Hafiz Malik, *Iqbal, Poet-Philosopher of Pakistan*, p. 101.

(13)

Lahore
10th November 1937

My dear Mr. Jinnah,

After having several talks with Sir Sikandar and his friends I am now definitely of the opinion that Sir Sikandar wants nothing less than the complete control of the League and the Provincial Parliamentary Board. In your pact with him it is mentioned that the Parliamentary Board will be reconstituted and that the Unionists will have majority in the Board. Sir Sikandar tells me that you agreed to their majority in the Board. I wrote to you some time ago to enquire whether you did agree to the Unionist Majority in the Board. So far I have not heard from you. I personally see no harm in giving him the majority that he wants but he goes beyond the pact when he wants a complete change in the office-holders of the League, especially the Secretary who had done so much for the League. He also wishes that the finances of the League should be controlled by his men. All this to my mind amounts to capturing of the League and then killing it. Knowing the opinion of the province as I do I cannot take the responsibility of handing over the League to Sir Sikandar and his friends. The pact has already damaged the prestige of the League in this province; and the tactics of the Unionists may damage it still further. They have not so far signed the creed of the League and I understand do not mean to. The session of the League in Lahore they want in April instead of February. My impression is that they want

to gain time for their own Zamindara League to function in the province. Perhaps you know that on his return from Lucknow Sir Sikandar constituted a Zamindara League[1] whose branches are now being made in the province. In these circumstances please let me know what we should do. Kindly wire your view if possible. If this is not possible write a detailed letter as early as possible.

Yours sincerely
Muhammad Iqbal
Bar-at-Law

1. Zamindara League (Association of Landlords) was intended to counter the effects of the propaganda of the workers of the Muslim League who were trying to reach every nook and corner of the Province. The efforts of these people were gradually changing the mind of the rural folk which threatened the existence of the Unionist Party and hence the use of the word 'League' to mislead the common village people.